

# **Religious and Other Conflicts in 1930's Chihuahua: The Immense Silence and Quest for Lost Patrimony**

Philip Roy Stover (Student Number: 20901690)

Presented to the School of History at the University of Kent in fulfilment of the requirements of  
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Research

Supervisors: Dr. Mark Lawrence (primary) and Dr. Natalia Sobrevilla Perea (secondary)

Year Submitted: 2024

Thesis Word Count: 95,186

Thesis Page Count: 322

***These possessions – often referred to as patrimonio (patrimony) –*** are understood to have been handed down from prior generations and intended to be handed down in turn to future generations. In Mexico, this mode of characterizing possessions as inalienable property has been extremely vigorous, especially in subsoil resources, collectively held land, and “cultural properties.” ***In each of these domains, the loss of such patrimonial possessions poses a direct threat to the collective, not only to its current members but to past and future members as well.***

(emphasis mine)

(Elizabeth Emma Ferry, “Envisioning Power in Mexico: Legitimacy, Crisis, and the Practice of Patrimony”)

And upon the triumph of the armed movement, a group of generals, feeling that **they had the right to the patrimony of all the people**, took over the government, turning it into the supreme government, and therefore **masters and lords of the destiny of the nation.**

(emphasis mine)

(Javier Contreras Orozco, “El mártir de Chihuahua: historia de una persecución”)

## Table of Contents

Table of Figures.....	iv
Acknowledgements .....	v
Abstract.....	vi
Introduction .....	1
Context.....	1
Geographical Scope.....	47
Historiography.....	50
Methodology.....	68
Chapter One.....	81
Chapter Two .....	110
Chapter Three .....	165
Chapter Four .....	200
Conclusion .....	235
Appendices.....	256
Abbreviations Cited.....	268
Bibliography.....	269

## Table of Figures

Figure 1 Overlapping Tensions in the 1930s .....	25
Figure 2 Laws, Decrees, and Executive Orders Related to Ejidos 1915-1934.....	43
Figure 3 Distribution of Land for Ejidos by President from 1915 to 1940.....	46
Figure 4 Map Showing Number of Approved Priests by State during La Segunda .....	49
Figure 5 Data from the 1910 Mexican Census and Constitutional Convention .....	102
Figure 6 1917 Constitution Articles that Proved to be Controversial .....	105
Figure 7 Chihuahua Population Growth from 1921 to 1940 .....	113
Figure 8 The Santa Fe Trail and the Chihuahua Trail in the 1830s.....	141
Figure 9 Mormons in Chihuahua Colonies in 1912 and 1946 .....	158
Figure 10 Legislation Restricting Priests in Chihuahua.....	183
Figure 11 Proximate Total of Deaths Included in Thesis .....	257
Figure 12 Calculations of Amendments by Article and Decade 1920-1959 .....	258
Figure 13 Letter from Casas Grandes Mormons to Regional Ejido Office.....	261
Figure 14 Mormon Water Hoarding Protest Nuevo Casas Grandes April 7, 1938 .....	262
Figure 15 Plan de Cerro Gordo .....	263
Figure 16 General Ibarra During the Cristero War - Seated Right .....	264
Figure 17 Ordenado y Ordenante in Hidden Seminary .....	265
Figure 18 Telegram to President Cárdenas about Mormon Water Use .....	266
Figure 19 – Monument to Agrarian Martyrs at Municipal Building in Peña Blanca, Chihuahua .....	267

## Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without the exceptional support of my supervisor, Mark Lawrence. His patience, understanding, and firm guidance have been my compass to guide me to completion. I am also grateful to my committee and the academic and financial teams of the University of Kent for their support, especially with COVID-19 restraints over the years I worked on this thesis.

I am grateful to the National Coalition of Independent Scholars for their financial support. Many historian friends in Mexico have provided outstanding emotional and archival support for this effort. I especially want to thank Leopold Horacio Chávez Valenzuela, historian of Casas Grandes, for his friendship and constant support. Thanks also to Carlos Javier Del Moral Cortés, Elías Ramos, Miguel Méndez, Chebeto Domínguez, Beatriz Gutiérrez Chávez, Jeffrey Jones, and Adán Cano. I am grateful to archivists and friends Fernando Rubio, Reyna Ponce Zubia, and Osmar Alberto Escolar Quintana. Thanks also to all who allowed me to interview them.

I thank my friends, Dick O'Connor, Bernie Rhinerson, Ron Bridgemon, and Walter Parks, for their faithful interest in my work. I thank my team members, Eduardo Martínez Rentería, Manny Heras, and Eduardo Martínez Gallegos, for your patience with me through these years.

Last, my special love and gratitude go to my son, Chris, and wife, Jeanne, for all your love, patience, and support while I have been absent, either in body or mind. I draw inspiration from Chris's patience and perseverance in his modeling work. Whenever Jeanne is with me when I speak in Spanish, I introduce her as *la Estrella en mi Cielo* – the Star in my Sky. Thanks for all your love and support. It means the world to me. . . to the moon and back!

## Abstract

This thesis is a study of a series of events in Mexico (1929-1940) that is sometimes known as *La Segunda Cristiada* or the Second Cristero War. Its focus is primarily on religious and other conflicts in Chihuahua, an essential borderland state in Mexico's north. I have created a regional study focused on the liminal position and impact of identified "others" on the culture and conflicts of the decade of the 1930s in Chihuahua. Competition for patrimony, including resources, rights, and that which was considered as customary to the northern pueblo are the critical struggles in these important late-revolutionary years. This time period was a *caldo mixto* (mixed stew) of events that individually may not seem that important but collectively give us insight into the late or postrevolutionary Mexico, especially in the north.<sup>1</sup>

The lens through which this study has led me is to frame these conflicts as that of lost, forgotten, or stolen patrimony, both locally and nationally. The Mexican Revolution contributed to and failed to offer solutions to such desires and needs on the part of everyday Mexican citizens. Liminal "others" migrated into Mexico to compete for these patrimonial resources. They contributed much to the conflicts in Chihuahua. Governments had their own concept of patrimony where they decided what was best for the local *campesino* (a native of a rural or country area) and the federal identity slowly emerging from the revolution. This thesis emphasizes the role of the

---

<sup>1</sup> Throughout this thesis, the reader will be confronted with two terms to refer to the 1930s in Mexico. They are postrevolutionary and late-revolutionary. These are differentiated by the specific author's understanding of the length of the Mexican Revolution. As I will explain in the body of the thesis, some historians, including myself take a long view of the revolution in the north, from the 1890s through the 1930s. Thus, I will use the term late-revolutionary to refer to the 1930s. Other historians prefer shorter time frames for the length of the revolution, from ten years (1910-1920) or more. From their perspective, the 1930s are postrevolutionary years. Either term is accurate, depending on the perspective and interpretation of the historian.

“everyday” agrarian *Chihuahuense* of the early twentieth century. Competing patrimonies were a crucial element in the conflicts of the 1930s.

I am proposing through my study to answer four questions regarding this time of local and regional conflicts:

- Was there indeed a pattern of religious and other conflicts sufficiently unified in purpose to justify whether or not La Segunda Cristiada in Chihuahua is worthy of study as a singular mosaic or tapestry?
- To what degree were those involved in those conflicts successful in gaining or restoring resources, rights, and an internal locus of control?<sup>2</sup>
- To what degree were state and federal governments effective in solving the existing conflicts in 1930s Chihuahua?
- If my research informs me to answer the first question in the affirmative, is then the term “La Segunda Cristiada” the appropriate appellation for the mosaic revealed as further insight is gained into conflicts in 1930s Chihuahua?<sup>3</sup>

The methodology includes visits to and interviews where conflicts occurred. Using both primary and secondary sources I seek to understand the often conflicting nature of the accounts. Chihuahuense anticlerical, ideological (educational), resource (land and water), and political violence will each be explored in this thesis.

---

<sup>2</sup> Stephen Nowicki, *Choice or Chance: Understanding Your Locus of Control and Why It Matters* (Amherst, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 2016). This book introduces the concept and differentiation found in internal locus of control, as opposed to external locus of control. Sometimes locus of control is referred to as locus of power. The two terms are basically synonymous.

<sup>3</sup> Patricia Arias, 'Luis González. Microhistoria e historia regional,' *Desacatos*, núm. 21, mayo-agosto 2006, 177-186, (p. 179). I am indebted to Professor Arias for her use of the term “mosaic” to refer to the regional historical studies of Mexican historian Luis González y González.

The main body of this thesis is composed of an introduction, four chapters, and a conclusion. The regional scope and core thematic content pertain to the State of Chihuahua, the largest state in Mexico by land mass and an essential element of what is known as the borderlands, an impacted buffer region between the United States and Mexico. The core period of this thesis is eleven years, from 1929 to 1940.

The **Introduction** provides an overview of the context, geographical scope, historiography, methodology, and thesis organization.

**Chapter One** provides a brief historical background for the concept of a passion for patrimony (lost heritage, rights, and freedom) as an integrating factor in the conflicts and violence in 1930s Chihuahua. **Chapter Two** summarizes the specific culture, geography, and history of the State of Chihuahua that created the spawning ground for the local acts of violence that haunted the state in the 1930s and the silence I have found that surrounds them. It highlights Chihuahua as a unique place of migration for “liminal others” who came to that state to live and why their very economic success only led to further pre-existing local tensions and conflict.

**Chapter Three** deals explicitly with the anticlerical, ideological (mostly education), and political violence that intersected to create the tapestry of La Segunda in Chihuahua. **Chapter Four** highlights the conflicts related to the hunger to control natural resources (water, land (crops and especially cattle), minerals, and timber. It also will analyze the newly emerging working class’s desire for their rights and organization.

The **Conclusion** will combine the personal and professional insights and analysis gained in the study of the events to answer the four questions mentioned in the Methodology section. It will also include suggestions for further research into the religious and other forms of conflicts as they manifested themselves in Chihuahua



## Introduction

Historians may see what they are looking for, find what they are seeking, take an interest in what fascinates them, and attach importance to what they believe to be significant. So, it has been with the study of *La Segunda Cristiada*.<sup>4</sup> The historian of religion has found religious conflict; the historian of agriculture sees droughts and disputes over land, while the military historian may specialize in a study of its armed clashes between soldiers, *guardia blanca*, outsiders, and even their fellow *campesinos*. In reality, each of these disparate conflicts is a piece of glass in the mosaic of what has been called La Segunda Cristiada, the earliest reference to which I found from the 1970s. In contrast, according to Vaca, the first use of the term “*cristiada*” to refer to the First Cristero War in a literary work was by former Cristero Luis Rivero del Val in 1952.<sup>5</sup>

## Context

In Mexico, the Second Cristero War or *La Segunda Cristiada* (or simply *La Segunda*) was the hidden and little-known offspring of *La Primera Cristiada*, better known as The Cristero War. *La Segunda* was fought in the decade of the 1930s, reaching its apex between 1934 and 1938.<sup>6</sup> It was characterized by isolated guerrilla-style ideological (political, educational, economic, and societal),

---

<sup>4</sup> In this thesis, in the words of Theodore Zeldin, “I am searching for the gaps people have not spotted, for the clues they have missed.” See Theodore Zeldin, *An Intimate History of Humanity* (London: Vintage Books, 1998), p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Luis Del Rivero Val, *Entre las patas de los caballos* (México, 1952); Agustín Vaca, *Los silencios de la historia: las cristeras* (Jalisco, Guadalajara: El Colegio de Jalisco, 2009), p. 52, fn. 18.

<sup>6</sup> Both the start and end dates of *La Segunda* are subject to debates. In that sense it is a microcosm of the Mexican Revolution itself. As will be seen, I take a long view of the revolution and am understanding *La Segunda* to be the series of conflicts between 1929 and 1940.

sectarian (religious), and agrarian (natural resources) conflicts in extreme southern Mexico (Tabasco, Veracruz, and Chiapas), the Central Belt (Puebla, Michoacán, Jalisco, and San Luis Potosi), and the northwest (Chihuahua, Durango, and Sonora). Its geographical impact spread wider than the Cristero War, which was primarily fought in the mid-1920s across central and west-central Mexico. Because of limited scope and space, the uniqueness of its borderland's location, independent culture, and history of conflict, I am making the State of Chihuahua in Mexico's northwest the focus and context of this thesis.<sup>7</sup>

The First Cristero War had it all: a romanticized sense of duty, a large number of participants, martyred priests, popular movies, novels, and scores of academic books and articles.<sup>8</sup> Its antecedents were complex and often local, creating chaos and bloodshed throughout central and west-central Mexico. In the words of its premier historian, Jean Meyer, it was an “immense drama.”<sup>9</sup> Using a play on Meyer's term, and because of the seeming lack of primary sources, I have deemed this thesis a study of the “Immense Silence.”

The use of this term is due to the scant attention *La Segunda* in Mexico, and especially in Chihuahua, has garnered in the literature, the paucity of resources about the conflicts themselves, and because of the vastness of Chihuahua's topographical space. The better-known and studied First Cristero War, with its drama, was declared “over” in the summer of 1929 but was, in reality, never finished. After 1929, the First Cristero War also had its own period of enforced silence. The

---

<sup>7</sup> Specific examples of these attributes of the State of Chihuahua will be provided in later chapters of the thesis.

<sup>8</sup> Popular literature on The Cristero War includes Elena Garro, *Recollections of Things to Come*, The Texan Pan American series (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986); Jesús Goytortúa, *Pensativa*, 24th edn (México: Editorial Porrúa, 2002) and its movie adaption as *Sucedio en Jalisco* by Jesús Goytortúa, and the movie, *For Greater Glory*, loosely based on the Cristero War with some imaginative scenes thrown in (2012).

<sup>9</sup> Jean Meyer, *Pro domo mea: "La Cristiada" in the distance: Number 29* (CIDE, 2004), n.p. This is a form of an apology and defense (at the same time) of a portion of what Jean Meyer had previous written about the causation of the Cristero War.

Catholic Church officially discouraged any discussion of the war, its causes or the military engagement of faithful Catholics. What retired Cristero General Aurelio Acevedo deemed, “*la conjura del silencio*” (the conspiracy of silence) did not really end for faithful Catholics until the mid-1940s.<sup>10</sup>

In contrast, La Segunda was a series of local conflicts waged over the decade of the 1930s. Its antecedents were less pronounced, and its disputes were rarely idealized. They garnered little artistic attention or serious study compared to the First Cristero War. Popular and academic publications paid less homage to these local yet often violent conflicts.<sup>11</sup> Like the famous Mexican murals of the 1920s and beyond, La Segunda portrays multiple isolated and disparate events and those who lived them.<sup>12</sup> La Segunda in Chihuahua had few, if any, heroes, although a few of its martyrs, like Socorro Rivera and Father Pedro de Jesús Maldonado, had statues erected to commemorate their deaths.<sup>13</sup>

While the degree and nature of the conflicts deemed La Segunda varied widely across Mexico, like its older sibling the Cristero War, La Segunda is often characterized as being basically about tensions between church and state. The validity of that characterization varies by state. The timing of the struggles varies by state or region as well. It is not accurate to characterize the entire

---

<sup>10</sup> Vaca, *Los silencios de la historia*, pp. 48-49.

<sup>11</sup> Popular interest in La Segunda is reflected in the little-known novel, Antonio Estrada Muñoz, *Rescoldo*, 6th edn (México: Jus, 2011) set in Durango by Antonio Estrada and in the famous novel Graham Greene, *The Power and the Glory* (New York: Penguin Classics, 2015) set in Tabasco. The latter was adapted into several movies and plays, including *The Fugitive* (1947). *Rescoldo* was loosely portrayed by a movie released in 2011 with the title *Los Últimos Cristeros*. This movie was directed by Matias Meyer, a son of Jean Meyer. *Rescoldo* needs to be translated into English.

<sup>12</sup> For an excellent study on the Mexican Muralism movement, see Antonio Rodríguez and Marina Corby, *Der Mensch in Flammen. A history of Mexican mural painting. Translation from Spanish and from German by Marina Corby*. (London: Thames & Hudson, 1969); Leonard Folgarait, *Mural Painting and Social Revolution in Mexico, 1920-1940: Art of the New Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). One particularly poignant mural, José C. Orozco, *La Acechanza: Work of Art - Mural* (Mexico City, 1926) deserves special mention. It is a particularly effective portrayal of the conflicts between labor, the church, and the campesino in the Cristero period.

<sup>13</sup> There are several statues of Socorro Rivera in the Sierra Madre region. One is in Ejido Peña Blanca, and another is in Gómez Farias, both in Chihuahua. Statues of Father Maldonado are in several locations including the Catholic cathedral in downtown Ciudad Juárez.

decade of the 1930s as “La Segunda.” It is correct to recognize that decade as a period of time over which conflicts took place, occasioned by different leaders, causes, and triggers for the violence.

Internationally, the decade of 1930 was a challenging experience in many parts of the globe.<sup>14</sup> The *Holodomor* famine and terror in Ukraine,<sup>15</sup> the *Manchukuo* period under the Japanese in Manchuria,<sup>16</sup> and the *Alzamiento Nacional*, which led to the Spanish Civil War,<sup>17</sup> were all times of terrible loss and conflict, with appellations attached to them that are familiar to many.<sup>18</sup> From distant parts of the globe, for years, each of these people shared a sense of persecution and humiliation at the hands of internal and external forces more powerful than themselves. Each conflict has been granted a designated umbrella term for its time of trouble. *La Segunda Cristiada* in Mexico seems

---

<sup>14</sup> Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes: A History of the World, 1914-1991* (New York: Vintage Books a Division of Random House, 1994), p. 37. Hobsbawm lists a number of hot spots in the world that together were the “milestones of the way to war” referring to World War II.

<sup>15</sup> Bohdan Klid and Alexander J. Motyl, *The Holodomor reader: A sourcebook on the Famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine* (Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 2012). This work is a compilation of documents related to all aspects of the Holodomor.

<sup>16</sup> *The Manchukuo Collection* (Cambridge: Harvard-Yenching Library, 1900). <http://id.lib.harvard.edu/alma/990143916880203941/catalog>. This is a collection of all kinds of ephemera related to the Manchukuo period housed in Harvard’s library.

<sup>17</sup> Antony Beevor, *The Battle for Spain: The Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939* (New York: Penguin Books, 2006). Beevor provides an excellent study of the causes, action, and results of the three-year-long Spanish Civil War, including the support of Mexico for the Republican (losing) side.

<sup>18</sup> In the 1930s, in Europe and in Brazil, under the leadership of Pope Pius XI the Catholic church began a formal program of veneration of Christ as “*Cristo Rey*” or “Christ the King.” This movement, in reaction to Catholic’s dissatisfaction with liberal democracies, for example in Portugal and Spain followed a similar movement in Mexico that began as early as the 1910s in a response to rising anticlericalism during the revolution. For general information, about the 20<sup>th</sup> century conflicts and rapprochements between the Church and liberal democracies, read: Michael J. Perry, ‘Liberal Democracy and the Right to Religious Freedom’, *The Review of Politics*, 71.4 (2009), pp. 621–635. For the 1925 encyclical regarding the formalization of the veneration of Christ as King, see Quas Primas, *Encyclical of Pope Pius XI on the Feast of Christ the King to our Venerable Brethren the Patriarchs, Primate, Archbishops, Bishops, and other Ordinaries in Peace and Communion with the Apostolic See: Pius XI - Encyclicals* (1925) <[https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf\\_p-xi\\_enc\\_11121925\\_quas-primas.html](https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_11121925_quas-primas.html)>; Cristo Rei Santuário Nacional do Cristo Rei, *History of the National Shrine of Christ the King* (2023) <<https://cristorei.pt/en/history/history-of-the-shrine>>. For information on the implementation of Cristo Rey in Brazil and Europe, see Cristo Rei Santuário Nacional do Cristo Rei, *History of the National Shrine of Christ the King* (2023) <https://cristorei.pt/en/history/history-of-the-shrine>. For earlier instances of the existence of a Cristo Rey movement in Mexico, including in the First Cristero War, see David C. Bailey, ¡Viva Cristo Rey! *The Cristero Rebellion and the Church-State Conflict in Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1974), pp. xi, 37, 88-89.

on its surface to be a sufficiently coherent, if not primarily hidden, series of events worthy of a similar, unique, and specific sobriquet occurring over various times and places.

While a much more extensive and violent conflict, of the three named disputes El Alzamiento Nacional had the most in common with La Segunda Cristiada.<sup>19</sup> The causes of the conflict in Spain were complex, including religious (anticlerical), ideological (secular education, for example), and agrarian antecedents.<sup>20</sup> It is interesting to note that Mexico, under Lázaro Cárdenas, in defiance of largely either indifferent or pro-Franco opinion in small-town and rural Mexico, supported the Republican (leftist) alliance which ultimately lost the war. Mexico supplied the Republican forces with munitions and food. On the refugee front, Mexico accepted thousands of children and adults from the areas in Spain that the Republicans had controlled.<sup>21</sup> As will be seen in more detail in chapter four, Republican refugees from the Spanish civil war formed their own colony in Chihuahua that was used both to provide a refuge and a location for smuggled goods and arms.

The series of conflicts known as *La Segunda Cristiada* were a complex set of protests (armed, written, and full of speeches) spread over many of Mexico's states. While the local impact of the fighting could be severe, there were no large-scale, grand, and glorious battles. There were no Celayas destined to determine the course of Mexican history.<sup>22</sup> La Segunda was a series of small, pitched encounters in valleys, mountains, pueblos, and isolated rancherías. In the case of Chihuahua,

---

<sup>19</sup> Stanley G. Payne, *La Europa revolucionaria: Las guerras civiles que marcaron el siglo XX*, Historia (Barcelona: Espasa, 2012), Loc. 2727, 3509, 6077 Kindle Edition. This book characterizes the struggles in Mexico as important, but stressing that the anticlericalism which occurred in Spain went "far beyond" that which occurred in Mexico.

<sup>20</sup> Stanley G. Payne, *The Spanish Civil War*, Cambridge essential histories (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Hugh Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War*, Modern Library war (New York: Modern Library, 2001). Both of these books, while reflecting distinct analyses of the antecedents of the conflict, offer insights into the complexities of the Spanish Civil War.

<sup>21</sup> Beevor, *The Battle for Spain*, pp. 412-413; Lesley B. Simpson, *Many Mexicos*, 4th edn (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), p. 324.

<sup>22</sup> The first and second battles of Celaya (a town in Guanajuato) in 1915 were determinative in the outcome of the Mexican revolution. Constitutionalist forces under Obregón defeated Conventionist forces under Francisco Villa at both battles. For more details of these important battles see, Friedrich Katz, *The Life and Times of Pancho Villa* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), pp. 490-494.

these also included armed conflict in the halls of the state congress. It involved small-scale battles between soldiers and armed militias and armed militias against unarmed citizens. It might be best characterized as a low-level civil war.<sup>23</sup> Savarino reminds us that in Chihuahua the Catholic opposition to the government's intervention in the life of the church was neither "alien" or "lukewarm."<sup>24</sup> Faithful Catholics were both socially active and involved in protest. Except for the 1929 Escobar rebellion, different from other states, the *Chihuahuenses* did not unite in militias to fight medium or large scale battles.

La Segunda across Mexico was fought over ideological, resource, and predominantly, religious conflicts. It established various forms of power and political control. In different ways, it affected all types of small towns and rural northern Mexico. This impact included peons (those laborers working on ranches, haciendas, or in mines), campesino (those living in the country, perhaps working on ejido lands or small parcels that were privately owned), middle-class (store-owners, merchants, ranchers), and wealthy (owning large estates or inherited wealth). It sometimes settled grudges among all classes of society, often over a sense of betrayal, injustice, and loss.

In this thesis, I will evaluate whether or not, while on a lesser scale, the conflicts engendered by the iconoclasm, anticlericalism, and ideological tensions of La Segunda were as harsh and destructive to those they impacted as those of the Cristero War. The national scope of the smaller scale La Segunda-styled conflicts was undoubtedly broader, from Chiapas to Chihuahua.

---

<sup>23</sup> Jean A. Meyer, *De una revolución a la otra: México en la historia* (México D.F.: El Colegio de México Centro de Estudios Históricos, 2013), Location 5977. Meyer affirms that he had no data on hand about any armed Catholic "guerillas" in the 1930s in the State of Chihuahua. The Catholic opposition in Chihuahua in the 1930s was indeed composed of armed civilians protesting the passage of what they perceived as anticlerical laws related to the number of priests, the closure of churches, and socialist educational policies.

<sup>24</sup> Franco Savarino Roggero, 'Catholics of the North: the Catholic Mobilization in Chihuahua During the Religious Conflict', *International Journal of Latin American Religions*, 4.1 (2020), 14–24 <<https://doi.org/10.1007/s41603-020-00101-7>>, (p. 14).

In northern Mexico, physical damage was most significant in Chihuahua's neighbor to the west, the State of Sonora. There, substantial destruction to church buildings, statues, and furnishings was experienced. During the 1930s, governors of northern states initially allied themselves with the *Maximato* – the power and reach of Plutarco Elías Calles. Later, sometimes reluctantly, they allied with *cardenismo*, the rule and political philosophy of Lázaro Cárdenas, a one-time Calles ally and eventual nemesis.<sup>25</sup>

After studying the literature review, this thesis's primary hypothesis is that the direct threat of the loss of patrimonial institutions such as church, family, rights, property, and pueblo, together with the accompanying values of each, catalyzed the tensions of the Second Cristiada. This process was especially evident in the north, where revolutionary destruction and chaos produced a generation of suffering. Both militants and victims of the Second Cristiada were motivated by what they saw as hopelessness, hunger, destruction, poverty, and the concomitant anger that accompanied such conditions. It seemed to every class that they lived with the daily threat of violence and robbery.<sup>26</sup> These harsh realities were at the heart of the tensions of the 1930s.

By its very nature, the quest to preserve or restore the known, the familiar, and local control was a competition between government, church(es), personalities, new and old *hacendados*, and varied post-revolutionary period priorities and perspectives. The decade of the 1930s is sometimes described as a journey from the rule of personalities to that of parties or a movement from

---

<sup>25</sup> Mark Wasserman, *Persistent Oligarchs: Elites and Politics in Chihuahua, Mexico, 1910-1940* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), pp. 31-68; Jürgen Buchenau, *The Sonoran Dynasty in Mexico: Revolution, Reform, and Repression* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2023); Charles H. Weston, 'The Political Legacy of Lázaro Cárdenas', *Americas*, 39.3 (1983), 383-405. The two chapters in Wasserman introduce the movement in loyalties between powerful caudillos. Buchenau's book is a new review of what is known as the Sonoran dynasty and its impact on the politics and policies of Mexico for a generation.

<sup>26</sup> José Rivera Castro, 'Situación Social, Organización y Luchas Campesinas en México, 1928-1935', *Lugajos*, 6 (abril-junio, 2015), 27-53.

caudillismo to corporations.<sup>27</sup> Rivera deems this decade as the political transition period of the revolution.<sup>28</sup> The transition was often violent, uncertain, and inconsistent from state to state and region to region. These interconnected competitions, connections, and ensuing conflicts are what the reader should find in chapters three and four of this study.

Most leaders in the church hierarchy, especially in Chihuahua, opposed this second round of armed conflict and violence. Like they did in the Cristero War, the Chihuahuense hierarchy used the threat of excommunication to enforce its power to keep the laity from actively fighting.<sup>29</sup> In Chihuahua, for example, in the absence of the hierarchy and clergy exiled in the mid-1930s, the laity organized and forged ahead to keep the Catholic Church functioning, even in secret.<sup>30</sup> By strengthening their engagement, the role of the laity in the Catholic Church in Mexico was both increased and changed.

Anticlericalism and iconoclasm were powerful forces in La Segunda. While northern Mexico escaped most of the conflict and destruction of the Cristero War, it was not exempt from these two anti-church manifestations during La Segunda.<sup>31</sup> Unique forms of anticlericalism and iconoclasm

---

<sup>27</sup> Rogelio Hernández Rodríguez, 'Strongmen and State Weakness', in *Dictablanda: Politics, Work, and Culture in Mexico, 1938-1968*, ed. by Paul Gillingham and Benjamin T. Smith (Durham, NC: Scholars Portal, 2014), pp. 108-125; Wasserman, *Persistent Oligarchs*, pp. 50-67. Wasserman uses the term "personalist to party rule" to explain the transition that occurred in Chihuahua in the 1930s.

<sup>28</sup> Rivera Castro, 'Situación Social', p. 27.

<sup>29</sup> Meyer, *De una revolución*, Location 5905. Meyer stresses that the threats of excommunication by Bishop Antonio Guízar y Valencia were effective in causing the effective Catholic social organizations in Chihuahua to avoid moving from social activity to battle in the First Cristero War. His position was no different in La Segunda.

<sup>30</sup> Franco Savarino Roggero, *El Conflicto Religioso en Chihuahua, 1918-1937* (Ciudad Juárez, México: El Colegio de Chihuahua, 2017). In Chihuahua, Catholic youth and women's organizations were organized and very active in the struggle against anticlericalism.

<sup>31</sup> Adrian A. Bantjes, 'The Regional Dynamics of Anticlericalism and Defanaticization in Revolutionary Mexico', in *Faith and Impiety in Revolutionary Mexico*, ed. by Matthew Butler (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 111-130.



assumed ideological and personal characteristics not seen in the north since the Reform Wars when liberal Benito Juárez fled to Ciudad Chihuahua for protection from conservative forces.<sup>32</sup>

Confiscation, sale, and change-of-use of Catholic Church properties, including schools, became an everyday fact of life. The damage to physical structures: statues, altars, and furnishings was less in Chihuahua than in neighboring Sonora, where many churches were destroyed. For the first time since being given the prerogative in the 1917 Constitution, state governors exercised their power to reduce or eliminate the number of priests registered to serve their states' Catholic faithful. Pious Catholic women engaged in the tension, whether serving in the ubiquitous parish altar societies, hiding parish priests and sacred objects, or supporting the fighters by supplying needed resources, including information on the movements of their enemies.<sup>33</sup>

The actual fighting, while scattered, was bloody and terrible. Balladeers sometimes wrote *corridos* about the conflicts. These beloved folk songs could tell or exaggerate the tale via a familiar and comfortable medium for the locals.<sup>34</sup> However, this warfare was one few involved wanted to talk about or acknowledge after the fact. For this reason, La Segunda, especially in Chihuahua, remained hidden like its many caves and remote hideaways. There was no “greater glory” to

---

<sup>32</sup> For more information on anticlericalism during the Reform Wars, see Robert J. Knowlton, ‘Some Practical Effects of Clerical Opposition to the Mexican Reform, 1856-1860’, *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 45.2 (1965), 246–256; Anselmo d. La Portilla, *México en 1856 y 1857: Gobierno del general Comonfort*, República liberal, obras fundamentales (México D.F.: Instituto Nacional de Estudios Históricos de la Revolución Mexicana, 1987).

<sup>33</sup> For more information on Catholic women’s engagement in the revolutionary time period, see Ben Fallaw, *Religion and State Formation in Postrevolutionary Mexico* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), pp. 5-6, 25-28, 317; S. E. Mitchell and Patience A. Schell (eds), *The Women’s Revolution in Mexico, 1910-1953: Latin American Silhouettes* (Lanham Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007); Patience A. Schell, ‘Of the Sublime Mission of Mothers of Families: The Union of Mexican Catholic Ladies in Revolutionary Mexico’, in *The Women’s Revolution in Mexico, 1910-1953*, ed. by Mitchell and Schell, 99–104.

<sup>34</sup> For a review of the importance of the corrido in social memory, see Richard R. Flores, ‘The Corrido and the Emergence of Texas-Mexican Social Identity’, *The Journal of American Folklore*, 105.416 (1992), 166–182; Luis R. Hernansáez, *Corridos zacatecanos contemporáneos.: De Valentín de la Sierra al siglo XXI (homenaje a Cuahtémoc Esparza)* (México, 2015)  
<[https://www.academia.edu/28664766/El\\_corrido\\_zacatecano\\_comtempor%C3%A1neo\\_De\\_Valent%C3%ADn\\_de\\_la\\_Sierra\\_al\\_siglo\\_XXI\\_pdf](https://www.academia.edu/28664766/El_corrido_zacatecano_comtempor%C3%A1neo_De_Valent%C3%ADn_de_la_Sierra_al_siglo_XXI_pdf)>.

proclaim. Neither government nor the Church trumpeted its part in this conflict. Antonio Estrada, son of *Duranguense* Segunda Cristiada leader Colonel Florencio Estrada, authored a powerful novel he titled *Rescoldo* (Embers), in which he described his father's fighters as "wolves marked with crosses on their hindquarters."<sup>35</sup> It is a sad, tragic, and primarily melancholy account of the fighters and the conflicts.

It is not accurate to describe La Segunda in reductionist or simplistic terms. From an organizational systems perspective, it was not a linear affair where step A reliably led to B and C in sequence. It was more like a non-linear scattergram, a many-sided system different in each state. For example, iconoclasm was not as frequent in Chihuahua, where land, natural resources, and old, still smoldering revolutionary grievances were more often the primary sources of conflict.

In describing the Cristero conflicts, López is clear in his analysis of its expression country-wide: "So it can be said that there was not just one Cristiada but multiple manifestations of religious conflict depending on the political, social, cultural, and even economic factors of each region."<sup>36</sup> What may have been defined as a religious conflict may be more accurately described as agrarian and ideological disputes in a religious context. Agrarian advocates had a considerable impact on both politics and governance in the late-revolutionary period. This "*caldo*" effect of the causes of the many conflicts is an integral part of recent interpretations of the conflicts of the 1920s and 1930s in Mexico.<sup>37</sup> At the same time, La Segunda is most likely not appropriate as a designation for the

---

<sup>35</sup> Estrada Muñoz, *Rescoldo*, p. 60. *Rescoldo*, like the conflict about which it was written has remained a hidden gem of a resource for information about the mood and melancholy of the men who fought in it.

<sup>36</sup> Alfaro G. López, *Los Cristeros en Sinaloa: Una forma de bandolerismo: Dossier: Política y violencia en el México contemporáneo* (2014) <<https://ifc.dpz.es/recursos/publicaciones/34/48/04lopezalfaro.pdf>> (p. 37).

<sup>37</sup> I use the term "*caldo*" to refer to the word for stew in Spanish. A stew is a mixture of vegetables, meats, and starches mixed into a singular dish (soup) where each ingredient retains its own identity yet exists as a part of a singular whole.

entire decade over the entire country. These conflicts may have had more differences than commonalities depending on where and when they occurred.

The Cristero conflict (La Primera) was promulgated by ranchers, who were neither huge hacendados, small property owners, nor those who worked on others' land. Tutino characterized that, in the hands of ranchers, the First Cristiada, a "massive regional agrarian revolt exploded in the west central states. . . ." <sup>38</sup> It was indeed a cry for freedom to both worship and be left alone on their own properties to raise children and pass on to them the values that had sustained families for generations. These were undoubtedly the customary rights that the pueblo (in this case, the ranchers) deserved and expected as participants in, and heirs of the revolution.

These ranchers or medium-sized property owners were frustrated with the halting-start-and-stop effort at land redistribution which characterized the north. The economic crises of the late twenties and early thirties only added to the mounting frustration. Local, state, and federal governments had made some dividing of the land possible, but often without the funds or organizational structure to oversee its fair and just redistribution. <sup>39</sup> These frustrations simmered into the thirties. <sup>40</sup>

*La Segunda* was, at times, a series of conflicts fought with the printing press. In some states, pamphlets, newspapers, letters, and articles fanned the flames of resistance to whatever was the

---

<sup>38</sup> John Tutino, *From Insurrection to Revolution in Mexico: Social Bases of Agrarian Violence, 1750-1940* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 6-7. Tutino describes the later phase of rebellion in west central Mexico in terms that could well be applied to the same in Chihuahua – "The rebels of the late 1920s were not villagers with deep roots in the communalism of Mexico's Indigenous or colonial past, as were those who fought with Zapata," p. 7.

<sup>39</sup> Tutino, *From Insurrection to Revolution*, pp. 345-347.

<sup>40</sup> William H. Beezley, "The Role of State Governors in the Mexican Revolution," 1-18, (p. 14) in Jürgen Büchenau and William Beezley, eds., *State Governors in the Mexican Revolution, 1910-1952* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2009). Beezley makes the following general observation about the challenges facing revolutionary governors, "Especially during the 1920s and 1930s, governors had to confront continuing local violence, advance reform programs, battle rural revolts, and mobilize local people in support of the weak national regime." This statement typifies the situation of the many revolutionary governors in Chihuahua.

local point of contention. It was also a situation where the printing press was sometimes silenced, as seen in Chihuahua (see pp. 52 and 68). Disparate political, religious, and economic ideologies were enmeshed in convoluted ways, conflating and confusing the conflict.

As Boyer suggests, the “country folk” (campesino and other everyday Mexicans) were the legitimate heirs of the Revolution.<sup>41</sup> As such, conflicts were inevitable as rightful heirs increasingly felt disenfranchised from their customary rights, inheritance, and culture, whether land, faith, or the rights to raise and educate their children as they had been. It was a conflicting time when the pueblo wanted change and at the same time, to stay the same with all they were familiar with, even their old dances.<sup>42</sup>

This thesis sets the context of the conflicts that manifested in La Segunda in various times and places as struggles for lost patrimony and the natural and inherited rights of each pueblo, Indigenous group, family, or individual. It is important to identify what exactly is meant by “lost patrimony.” In the context of this thesis, lost patrimony refers to the struggle to obtain, retain, or regain heritage, resources, and rights that were either in reality or in perception “owned” by or promised to any of the above entities. As will be pointed out, these assets could be either tangible or incorporeal. These assets were of great value to the individual or organization. So much so, that the assumption of great risks, even death was worth the struggle.

As will be seen in the next chapter, La Segunda was a struggle promulgated in anger over the many losses incurred while participating in the revolution. Everyday people fought, thinking that with a victory would come a restoration of cherished memories (not consistently accurate) of a

---

<sup>41</sup> Christopher R. Boyer, *Becoming Campesinos: Politics, Identity, and Agrarian Struggle in Postrevolutionary Michoacán, 1920-1935* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2003), pp. 1-2.

<sup>42</sup> Boyer, *Becoming Campesinos*, p. 38. While the focus is on the State of Michoacán, this book is perhaps the best overview of the rural Mexican becoming known as campesino and heirs to the revolution.

better time and life. They were not looking for something “new” from government, but a return to something familiar. The failure of the revolution to grant those memories is the context for this thesis, especially in Chihuahua, where for years (since 1892) so many fought and lost so much.

La *Segunda* in Chihuahua was a twentieth-century hidden war characterized by violence that produced more shame than glory. This thesis aims to lift the veil, revealing the complex local contexts of the conflicts. It was a fight for the soul (mind, will, and emotions) and the unique patrimony of the north.<sup>43</sup>

### **La Primera Cristiada Goes Underground to Reemerge as la Segunda—Sectarian, Ideological, and Agrarian Conflicts Brew Across Mexico**

In 1928 a zealous Catholic partisan assassinated President-elect Álvaro Obregón.<sup>44</sup> Dedicated interim President Emilio Portes Gil worked hard but suffered from the presence of Plutarco Elías Calles, who did his best to control events behind the curtain.<sup>45</sup> The time of the ubiquitous presence, power, and prestige of former President Calles in Mexico’s government is often referred to as the ‘*Maximato*.’ From the death of Obregón in 1928 to 1936, when Calles was exiled from Mexico to San Diego, CA, by President and former ally Lázaro Cárdenas, Calles was

---

<sup>43</sup> Tutino, *From Insurrection to Revolution*, pp. 35-38. In this section, Tutino offers a useful analysis of the social strata development in northern Mexico. His analysis readily applies to Chihuahua. For the meaning of the word “soul” in this thesis, see p. 26, fn. 71.

<sup>44</sup> José A. Martínez Álvarez, *Álvaro Obregón. Máximo Caudillo de la Revolución Mexicana: Documentos: Tomo II* (La Piedad, Michoacán: La Atenas de América, 2022), pp. 330-350. Rather than a written text, this is the second volume of a massive series of first hand documents related to the events of Obregón’s life and death.

<sup>45</sup> Manuel Gamio, ‘Emilio Portes Gil—Mexico’s New President’, *Current History* (1916-1940), 29.6 (1929), 981–986 (p. 981). Gamio, with his typically insightful assessment into the Mexican Revolution starts out his brief article on the forthcoming presidency of Emilio Portes Gil with the following pointed question, “How long will he satisfy the Mexican conservatives, many of whom want Mexico ruled by iron-fisted men who inherit the ferocious jaws of the gorilla and whose gaze is as hostile and ruthless as a tiger’s?” This brief article provides insight into the first few months of the Portes Gil presidency and what he (Gamio) expected to come.

known by many as the '*Jefe Máximo*' of the country.<sup>46</sup> Hence, these years are referred to as the 'Maximato.'<sup>47</sup>

Several times in the mid and late 1920s, armed rebellions by high-ranking military officers also threatened the government's stability. The most important for this study was the uprising of General José Gonzalo Escobar in 1929. He created a loose alliance with the Cristeros and brought active combat into Mexico's north, fighting in Nuevo Leon, Coahuila, Durango, Chihuahua, and Sonora. A significant percentage of the army rebelled with him, so his uprising was a brief yet active threat to the Portes Gil government.<sup>48</sup> His desire to fortify his cause by alliances with the remaining Cristeros complicated the nature of the *escobarista* rebellion. I will have more to say in later chapters about this rebellion, specifically in Chihuahua.

By 1929, the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in Mexico was equally desirous of an end to the Cristero struggle. The church was uncertain and inconsistent in the direction it provided the laity. The Mexican Catholic hierarchy was in exile in Texas or Arizona. Most local priests did not actively engage in violence during the Cristero bloodshed.

By 1929 the various factions resolved few of the disparate conflicts that intersected in the first and most famous Cristero War. That year representatives of the Catholic Church and the Mexican government, assisted by US Ambassador Dwight Morrow's negotiation assistance, agreed

---

<sup>46</sup> José A. Martínez Álvarez, *Cronología Documental del Conflicto Religioso: 1859-1993: Prisma Cristero*, Tomo II (La Piedad, Michoacán: Independently Published, 2000), pp. 469-470. This public announcement provides Cárdenas' rationale for the exile of former President Calles.

<sup>47</sup> Héctor Aguilar Camín and Lorenzo Meyer, *In the Shadow of the Mexican Revolution: Contemporary Mexican History, 1910-1989* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993), pp. 71-128. This book's significant weakness is its complete lack of footnotes or source material beyond that of a rather brief bibliography.

<sup>48</sup> For more information on the Escobar rebellion, see John W. F. Dulles, *Yesterday in Mexico: A Chronicle of the Revolution, 1919-1936* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1961), pp. 436-50.

to a set of informal 'Arreglos,' often termed a *Modus Vivendi*, to end their part of the conflict.<sup>49</sup> The government and the church were each motivated to conclude the armed combat for their own respective reasons. The Cristero War, an irregular strife between uncertain forces, neither of which had any clear path to an end that might be touted as "victory," was paused but not completed, ended without being finished.

One interesting and little reported fact is that J. Reuben Clark, as the undersecretary and acting secretary of state, engaged in the legal research, met many times with US Catholic leaders, and helped Dwight Morrow finalize the *Modus Vivendi*. During the earlier years of the revolution, he was the head solicitor of the US State Department, chief architect of the Mexican policy of Howard Taft and a strong influencer on US-Mormon policy and relations in Mexico. He later became the US ambassador during the early years of *La Segunda*. In that capacity he was responsible for again formulating much of the Mexican policy of the United States.

In 1933, following his tenure as ambassador, he left the government to become a member of the first presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. As will be seen in a later chapter, the Latter-day Saints in Mexico in the 1930s, played a significant role in agrarian conflicts in Chihuahua and Sonora. More work needs to be done on Clark's time as Mexican ambassador and his engagement with the large Anglo (many US citizens) LDS Mormon migrant community in Chihuahua.<sup>50</sup>

---

<sup>49</sup> Jean Meyer, *La Cristiada 2 - el conflicto entre la iglesia y el estado 1926-1929* (mexico d.f.: siglo xxi editores, 1994), pp. 303-377 provides an excellent review of the development of the *Modus Vivendi*. See also Frank W. Fox, *J. Reuben Clark: The Public Years* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1980), pp. 451-584. These pages detail the history of Clark's years in Mexico working as solicitor and ambassador, including his involvement in the creation of the *Modus Vivendi*.

<sup>50</sup> For the most complete single source on the political life of J. Reuben Clark, including his years in Mexico, see Fox, *J. Reuben Clark*.

After the 1929 *Arreglos*, during the 1930s, governments' ability to require priests to register with them went into effect. This empowering of state governments to determine the number of priests allowed to register and minister to their flocks legally was a tremendous concern across all religious groups. Eventually, all sides in the turmoil, except those fighting solely for their agrarian patrimony, had a genuine interest in its termination.<sup>51</sup>

In *La Segunda*, in states that experienced strong iconoclasm, various militias, including government forces attacked parish churches more often than fortified encampments. This created a similar turmoil and backlash surrounding the “invasion of churches” and secularization of education as was felt in the French Third Republic (1870-1940).<sup>52</sup> Young and wealthy Mexican intellectuals as diverse as Francisco Madero, Felipe Ángeles, David Alfaro Siqueiros, and Diego Rivera received at least part of their education in France, in an environment that included revolutionary turmoil along with an exposure to an anticlerical form of positivist Spiritism.<sup>53</sup> *La Segunda* was fought in the churches (especially in Sonora) and classrooms more often than on the battlefields. As will be discussed in future chapters, teachers often paid a terrible price for loyalty to the required curriculum.

---

<sup>51</sup> For more information on the church's motivation for ending the conflict, see Matthew Butler, “Revolution and the Ritual Year: Religious Conflict and Innovation in Cristero Mexico”, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 38.3 (2006), 465–490.

<sup>52</sup> For a general review of the French Third Republic, see William Fortescue, *The Third Republic in France, 1870-1940: Conflicts and Continuities*, Routledge sources in history (London: Routledge, 2000); Theodore Zeldin, *France 1848-1945: Volumes 1 and 2*, Oxford history of modern Europe, 1 and 2 (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1977). French anti-clericals in 1905 gave up their attempts to inventory the contents of French churches (required by Title II Article 3 of the 1905 French Law on the Separation of the Churches and State) once it was clear that forceful entry would lead to violence, further enflaming the French public. For specific sources on the content and impact of the 1905 French Law on the Separation of the Churches and State, see Alain Boyer, *La loi de 1905: Hier, aujourd'hui, demain*, Convictions et sociétés (Lyon: Olivétan, 2005); Jean Baubérot, *Laïcité 1905-2005, entre passion et raison*, La couleur des idées (Paris: Seuil, 2004). For specific information on sources on the movement to secularization in education in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries in France, see M. J. Burrows, ‘Education and the Third Republic’, *Hist. J.*, 28.1 (1985), 249–260.

<sup>53</sup> These four and many other young revolutionaries received a portion of their formal training in France. For examples of European, especially French influence on the Mexican Revolution, see Alan Knight, ‘Popular Culture and the Revolutionary State in Mexico, 1910-1940’, *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 74.3 (1994), 393-444.



In the 1930s, the very direction that Mexican society would take was in question. In the conflicts of that decade, ideological ideals such as education, political systems, rights, and grievances were often the preferred weapon of warfare. Such “battles” were often fought under the red and black banner of the labor and agrarian faithful.<sup>54</sup> While the First Cristero War was fought primarily in the “rosary belt” of middle and midwestern Mexico, *La Segunda*’s ideological conflicts were evident over a much broader span of the country.

*La Segunda* was a series of guerilla conflicts where a few men could hold out against many for prolonged periods. The terrain was a vital component of this warfare. The mountainous area known as the Sierra Madre provided an ideal opportunity for small armed groups to strike and retreat into a familiar, rugged territory they had navigated their entire lives.<sup>55</sup>

Engaged in this nation-wide 1930s struggle were teachers (at least three hundred killed or wounded), labor union representatives, ideologues advocating for their own political or philosophical system, Indigenous peoples, the Catholic laity, and agrarians.<sup>56</sup> Each was fighting for local grievances related to perceived unmet promises such as land distribution, conflicts regarding education (schools), and religion (churches). The resulting chaos was an unorganized and sometimes convenient opportunity to settle grudges/grievances or wreak havoc.<sup>57</sup>

---

<sup>54</sup> See p. 180 fn. 587 (text and footnote) of this thesis for a review of the use of the red and black banners during both of the Cristiadas.

<sup>55</sup> Javier Contreras Orozco, *El mártir de Chihuahua: historia de una persecución*, 2nd edn (Chihuahua, México: J.H. Contreras Orozco, 2012), pp. 239–254. This chapter on the actions of the Rarámuri (Tarahumara) Natives of southwestern Chihuahua during the First Cristero War provides an interesting and little-known example of how a native group used the very isolation of their Sierra Madre home to conduct small-scale scale incursions on behalf of the Catholic church.

<sup>56</sup> Fernando Benítez, *Lázaro Cárdenas y la Revolución Mexicana: El Cardenismo*, III (México: Biblioteca Joven, 1984), p. 107; Jean Meyer, ‘An Idea of Mexico: Catholics in the Revolution’, in *The Eagle and the Virgin: Nation and Cultural Revolution in Mexico, 1920-1940*, ed. by Mary K. Vaughan and Lewis Stephen E. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006), 281-296 (p. 291). See also p. 39, fn. 123 of this thesis for evidence of 300 teachers wounded or killed.

<sup>57</sup> This havoc was increased by the many thousands of Mexican agricultural workers forced to return to Mexico (especially in the north) because of the depression in the United States. The account of this tragic episode is

Although often local in scope, conflicts were personal and violent for those engaged. Firmly held values and beliefs about faith, land, education, workers' rights, politics, or old personal affronts all played a role in righting past wrongs. As will be seen throughout this study, the maelstrom of *La Segunda* manifested itself in the same confusing chaos often seen in northern Mexico's dust devils, those here and there, now you see them, now you do not mini-tornadoes of the *llano*.

### **Antecedents of the Cristiada Conflicts**

Historians undoubtedly debate how far back in Mexican history one must search to find the roots of these internecine struggles. Perhaps, given time, we begin with the period of European Positivism, as reflected in the times and leadership of Sebastián Lerdo and Porfirio Díaz. Should we return to the reform movement and anti-French intervention of the 1850s and 1860s as led by Ignacio Comonfort and Benito Juárez? Would it be best to journey back to the time of Iturbide, Guerrero, Victoria, and the independence turmoil of the 1820s? Is hearkening back to the conquest or before necessary to understand these conflicts in the Mexican context? Can we learn what we need to know about the foundations of agrarian, sectarian, and ideological strife in 1930's northern Mexico by merely dissecting Francisco Madero, Victoriano Huerta, Plutarco Elías Calles, Lázaro Cárdenas, and *La Revolución* with all of its turmoil, conflict, and unfulfilled promises?

Much of the focus on land distribution and production during these years was on accomplishing the same, whether via a form of the ejido concept or encouraging small parcel private

---

well portrayed in Francisco E. Balderrama and Raymond Rodriguez, *Decade of Betrayal: Mexican Repatriation in the 1930s* (Albuquerque, N.M.: University of New Mexico Press, 2006); Fernando S. Alanís Enciso, Russ Davidson and Mark Overmyer-Velázquez, *They Should Stay There: The Story of Mexican Migration and Repatriation during the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017).

land ownership. During the revolution, the debates and conflicts often boiled into a division among the leadership over the preferred manner to meet the patrimonial need and revolutionary promises of the campesino for land. The turnover among the country's leadership exacerbated this question, as did the many amendments to passed and implemented laws. For example, President Calles preferred the private ownership of small plots of land (his ultimate goal). In contrast, his disciple and later antagonist, Lázaro Cárdenas, preferred the ejido as a means to the end.<sup>58</sup>

While the local farmer desired his patrimonial land on which to grow his crops, he rebelled against the idea of trading the tyranny of the *porfirista* hacendado for being abused by the local ejido organization leadership, which might keep the best land for themselves. Seasoned US politicians/diplomats shared these concerns. Before working as Dwight Morrow's solicitor, J. Reuben Clark congratulated him on his appointment as ambassador. He expressed his dubious misgivings about the benefits of the ejido system for the rural Mexican seeking land for his birthright.<sup>59</sup>

The Chihuahuense conflicts studied in this thesis involve protests, strikes, and small outbreaks of vigilante-style violence, sometimes resulting in the deaths of one to a dozen fighters. They involved fights for agrarian (land resource), religious, educational, and workers' rights, mixed

---

<sup>58</sup> Eyer N. Simpson, *The Ejido: Mexico's Way Out* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937), pp. 316-334. Eyer Simpson, a professor at the University of Chicago and Princeton University spent a number of years as a research fellow in Mexico. His early monumental work on the Mexican ejido is a major contribution to the historiography of Mexico's agrarian issues. See also Luis Cabrera, 'The Mexican Revolution: Its Causes, Purposes and Results', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 69 (1917), 1-17 (p. 7); Marilyn Gates, 'Partial Proletarianization and Reinforcement of Peasantry in the Mexican Ejido', *NS, NorthSouth*, 6.12 (1981), pp. 63-79.

<sup>59</sup> In a congratulatory letter to Morrow in late 1927, Clark wrote his concerns about the agrarian situation in Mexico, "She has taken lands for ejidos from Americans for the poor Mexicans, but reports indicate that such lands have in good part either fallen into the hands of a new group of large Mexican landholders, of the Obregón type, or after a year or two or three, have lapsed back to the wild state." Fox, *J. Reuben Clark*, p. 483. His comments were prescient to the realities of what were to come.

with some payback violence. The conflicts of the 1930s culminated in an amalgamation of external (including government) forces pressuring the campesino from all sides.

The tensions increased with significant drought, economic depression, mining issues, new political ideologies, and radical (as viewed by the conservatives) educational curriculum. Both external (regional, local, state, and federal) forces and internal (familial, local village, and individual) forces combined to create a sometimes bloody and often futile passion to “unfreeze” the then-current and less-than-desirable situation. The challenge for many was reconciling dissatisfaction with the status quo with their concomitant fear of change.

This internal conflict between the status quo and change was strongly felt across the borderlands. Northerners were used to conflict. They often faced harsh conditions, the Apache, and incursions of several types from the United States. They were distant from the seats of authority of both church and state. They disliked imposed authority from whatever source.

In speaking of the Apache, it must be said that for the mestizo residents of Chihuahua, the Apache were considered “outsiders” who were not “Mexican enough” to be considered Mexican.<sup>60</sup> This prejudice is ironic as some recent scholarship puts the Apache in northwest Mexico by either the 1400s or 1540s.<sup>61</sup> In that sense, they may have pre-dated the Spanish. To both the mestizo and the Anglo minds, the Apache belonged “nowhere.” Apache in the Sierra Madre and broad llanos of Chihuahua were seen, feared, and captured into the 1930s, a time contemporary with this thesis.<sup>62</sup>

---

<sup>60</sup> In fairness, it should be added that throughout most of their history, the Apache did not consider themselves citizens of either the United States or Mexico.

<sup>61</sup> Martin P. R. Magne and R. G. Matson, ‘Moving On: Expanding Perspectives on Athapaskan Migration’, *Canadian Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 34. No. 2 (2010), 212-239.

<sup>62</sup> Helge Ingstad, *The Apache Indians: In search of the Missing Tribe* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004 (Original Norwegian Version Published in 1945)), pp. 171-181; Grenville Goodwin and Goodwin Neil, *The Apache Diaries A Father-Son Journey* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), pp. 212-222; Nelle Spilsbury Hatch, *Colonia Juarez: An Intimate Account of a Mormon Village* (Salt Lake City Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1954), pp. 81-104. A primary flaw in Hatch’s account of various encounters with native peoples, was her lengthy mention of the

At the time of the writing of this thesis, none of the Indigenous people who identify as Apache and desire such status are recognized by the Mexican government as a distinct people group.<sup>63</sup>

Each state in Mexico, in its own way, was untamed by the fires of the revolution. Now each had to look internally to learn how to reconcile their unique dissatisfactions and fears—the decade of the 1930s brought significant challenges to all of them. The purpose of this contextual overview is to provide the reader with a brief history of the conflicts in Mexico that gave impetus to the conflicts in the first three decades of the twentieth century. These include church-state, agrarian, and educational conflicts from independence through the revolutionary period. It is relevant to provide context and a lens to understand the events of the 1930s as a continuation of a hundred years of continually unresolved conflicts.

The predominant interpretive themes of the Cristiada conflicts have been Church versus state, faith versus reason, and liberal versus conservative. Each of these elements has different facets to it. What some interpret as a struggle of Church versus state may, in reality, be a struggle over

---

1892 “war” (really a several hour brief gunfight) with Temoche (sic) “Indians” near Colonia Juárez. The Temoches (sic) she mentions were actually a remnant group heading back home after the mestizo rebellion against the state and federal government in the pueblo of Tomóchi. They were mestizo Mexicans not Indigenous people. See also ‘Southwest News Items’, *The Coolidge Examiner*, 20 February 1931, p. 1. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn94050542/1931-02-20/ed-1/seq-2/>.

<sup>63</sup> Gobierno de México, *Pueblos indígenas* <[https://sic.cultura.gob.mx/lista.php?table=grupo\\_etnico&disciplina=&estado\\_id=>](https://sic.cultura.gob.mx/lista.php?table=grupo_etnico&disciplina=&estado_id=>)>. In this official Mexican government list of Indigenous people groups in Mexico there is no mention of the Apache even though there are those claiming to be of one Apache group or another living in Chihuahua, Sonora, Durango, Tamaulipas, Coahuila, and Nuevo León. Among some Mexican historians there is a question of whether one must be living as an Apache to be considered “Apache.” See also Mexico Daily Post, *Lipan Tribe: the Mexican Apaches that do not Appear in Textbooks* (2022) <<https://mexicodailypost.com/2022/10/21/lipan-tribe-the-mexican-apaches-that-do-not-appear-in-textbooks/>>>; Pie de Página, *Apaches: Alive and well in 21st Century Mexico* (2021), <<https://piedepagina.mx/apaches-alive-and-well-in-20th-century-mexico/>>>; José M. González Dávila, *¿Qué significa ser apache en el siglo XXI?* (Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2018). Inter-band conferences of Apache have recently been held in Casas Grandes, Chihuahua in the hope of encouraging and informing the federal government about their continued and active presence in the country. According to Apache leaders in attendance, the first puberty ceremony known to be held on Mexican soil since 1882 was held in 2024 in Casas Grandes. The author was privileged to attend.

authority, power, control, hegemony, or access to resources. A conflict of faith versus reason might reflect a disagreement over core values, identity, and group affiliation.<sup>64</sup>

Differences in being a liberal versus a conservative may represent debates over political and educational systems, the source of authority, or the adoption of philosophical ideologies. Some of those deemed liberals had what might be described as pietistic motives in their desire for Catholic leadership to emphasize piety and holiness in daily life. President Álvaro Obregón was an example of this model of being ‘liberal’ and was much more tactful in his anticlericalism as president than his successor, Plutarco Elías Calles.<sup>65</sup>

The anticlerical movement in Mexico is best understood as a diverse effort that took many shapes in its effort to limit the power of the church, restore a personal pietism, and create alternatives to the authority of the church in the lives of everyday Mexicans. It was not a monolithic movement.<sup>66</sup>

Sectarian issues focused on meaningful and profound personal rivalries between individuals and groups. In Catholicism, these rivalries involved competition between the traditional and modern and local and hierarchical expressions of the faith. Also, the growth of Protestantism, Pentecostalism (many who do not identify as Protestants), conservative non-Protestant Anglo Mormons and Mennonites in the north, and the rapid expansion of Freemasonry (not a religious

---

<sup>64</sup> The historiography of the Cristero conflicts has evolved over the years. One of the earliest attempts at analysis of their causes and impacts was James W. Wilkie, ‘The Meaning of the Cristero Religious War Against the Mexican Revolution’, *Journal of Church and State*, 8.2 (1966), 214–233; Mark Lawrence, *Insurgency, counter-insurgency and policing in centre-west Mexico, 1926-1929: Fighting Cristeros* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020), pp. 1-34, 139-148.

<sup>65</sup> David C. Bailey, ‘Álvaro Obregón and Anticlericalism in the 1910 Revolution’, *Americas*, 26.2 (1969), 183–198.

<sup>66</sup> Robert Weis, ‘The Revolution on Trial: Assassination, Christianity, and the Rule of Law in 1920s Mexico’, *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 96.2 (2016), 319–353, (pp. 344–350); Jaymie Heilman, ‘The Demon Inside: Madre Conchita, Gender, and the Assassination of Obregón’, *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos*, 18.1 (2002), 23–60. Weis’s entire article presents an insightful perspective on the varied forms and intent of anticlericalism in 1920s and 1930s Mexico. He clearly points out the concerns for greater spirituality among other motivations for anticlericalism in some revolutionary anticlericalists.

group per se) all produced sectarian conflicts in the 1930s. It is difficult, if not futile, to attempt to group all of these disparate entities under any one banner.

The rivalry between the government and the dominant Catholic church must also be examined. Various forms of anticlericalism and iconoclasm in Chihuahua will be studied, together with the faithful's responses and reactions. At times, the sectarian advocate ignored, engaged with or against the agrarian. Both represented the passion for the sacred inheritance (patrimony) of those who endured the revolution. Each was exacerbated by failure to realize the rewards of the campesino's devotion through the years of fighting.

Agrarian conflicts primarily dealt with rivalries over land and water ownership, the reinstatement of the ejido in various forms, and the sense of broken promises. The agrarian also engaged the sectarian, as did the Catholic, Mormon, and Mennonite churches engage agrarians. The adherents of each, along with their hierarchy competed for land, water rights and ownership.

The middle classes were the target population for traditional Protestant missionaries, especially in the north, where the Catholic church was organizationally weaker. Targeting the middle class also increased the likelihood that a convert congregation could support itself without assistance from the denomination.<sup>67</sup>

Education was also a priority for the Protestants, especially the provision of schools where the middle class could be taught trades, skills and be religiously influenced at the same time. Approximately 80% of Protestant church sites with resident ministers also had school sites attached

---

<sup>67</sup> Reginald W. Wheeler, Dwight H. Day and James B. Rodgers, *Modern Missions in Mexico* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1925), pp. 9-14. This brief section provides an analysis from the mission perspective of a successful and self-supporting church in the mid-north of Mexico in Zacatecas.

to them.<sup>68</sup> Protestants were most potent in the north, where US missionaries and Anglos, more likely to be Protestants, had closer access to the everyday people. Members of the Mennonite and Latter-day Saints communities in the north were predominantly Anglo and were both non-Catholic and non-Protestant in their self-identification.

On the other hand, many of the central and southern Mexican converts to the Latter-day Saints church were from the poorer, heavily Indigenous populations.<sup>69</sup> The Lamanite teachings of the LDS missionaries would have influenced this population more.<sup>70</sup>

The agrarian also engaged with the ideological. The locals considered the schools part of the pueblo, the home, and the all-important land. The local community decides all aspects of the pueblo and competes with the government to control schools and land. The Mexican child's mind is a critical component of patrimony as the family is a vital institution in northern Mexican life. Studying the decade's tensions and competitions is crucial in light of the time's sweeping agrarian and educational changes.

---

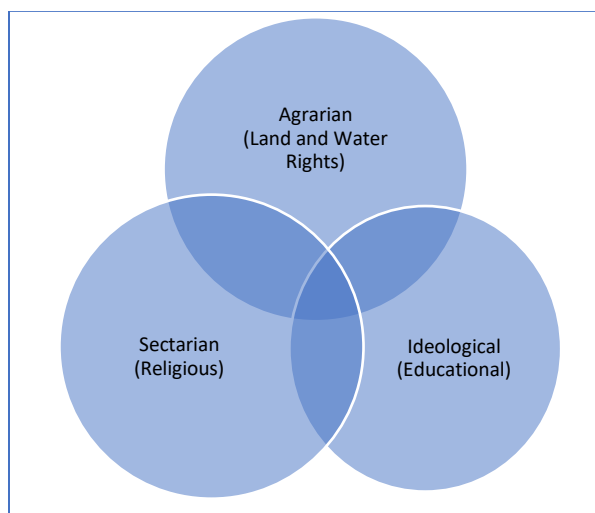
<sup>68</sup> Deborah J. Baldwin, *Protestants and the Mexican Revolution: Missionaries, Ministers, and Social Change* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), pp. 4, 33, 52-56. Baldwin's study remains the classic study of Protestants in Mexico during the revolutionary time period. José Miguez Bonino, *Faces of Latin American Protestantism: 1993 Carnahan lectures* (Grand Rapids, Mich., Cambridge: W.B. Eerdmans, 1997), pp. 16, 41-42, 59, 133.

<sup>69</sup> Thomas C. Romney, *The Mormon Colonies in Mexico* (Salt Lake City Utah: University of Utah Press, 1938 (2005)), p. 92.

<sup>70</sup> Wesley W. Craig, 'The Church in Latin America: Progress and Challenge', *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, 66-74, <[https://www.dialoguejournal.com/wp-content/uploads/sbi/articles/Dialogue\\_V05N03\\_68.pdf](https://www.dialoguejournal.com/wp-content/uploads/sbi/articles/Dialogue_V05N03_68.pdf)>; Thomas W. Murphy, "Other Mormon Histories: Lamanite Subjectivity in Mexico", *Journal of Mormon History*, 26.2 (2000), 179-214.



**Figure I Overlapping Tensions in the 1930s**



The overall tensions increased in the darker areas of the chart (See **Figure I**) where two or three of the conflict areas overlap. Understanding the resultant pressures is a challenging task. Those struggling for their own specific causes were often caught up with others, as seen in the May 1936 conflict in the central plaza of Camargo, Chihuahua. Each of these, the sectarian, agrarian, and ideological, will regularly be applied to the concept of patrimony.

Thus, this thesis examines sectarian, agrarian, and ideological rivalries and competition through the lens of a common theme – the quest for lost but not forgotten patrimony. It focuses on how the quest for patrimony in Chihuahua in the 1930s can be understood in the context and interaction of both Segunda Cristiada agrarian, sectarian, and educational rivalries and at times, cooperation.

## Sectarian Issues – Rivals for the Soul of Mexico<sup>71</sup>

The Church-state conflict had its beginnings in the earliest post-independence period. The first Mexican Congress authorized and crowned Agustín de Iturbide, the Constitutional emperor of Mexico. Most Mexican bishops attended the coronation. The most important bishop, however, Archbishop Pedro José de Fonte y Hernández Miravete chose to stay away. Soon after the coronation, he left Mexico to return to Spain. The highest Catholic official in the land had not supported the new emperor's coronation.<sup>72</sup>

On the other hand, in a throwback to Napoleonic symbolism, Iturbide, the new emperor, had the President of Congress, Rafael Mangino, place the crown on his head. This act symbolized independence from the Church. Both church and state parties acted symbolically in this event and in the coming months to demonstrate independence from the other.<sup>73</sup>

There were intense arguments over the privilege of *Patronato Real*, the right to select, approve, and appoint religious authorities between those who favored royal privilege and the Ultramontanists that continued for decades. There was significant debate in creating the new constitution of 1824, which ultimately assured the right of Congress to approve the selections of

---

<sup>71</sup> The use of the term “soul” in this thesis is intended primarily to refer to the mind, will, and emotions. An example of this is the use by Calles of the concept of the soul in his 1936 “Grito de Guadalajara” speech which will be mentioned later in this chapter. This is in differentiation from a strictly religious use of the term.

<sup>72</sup> For an insightful analysis of church and state during the Independence period including the specifics of this event, see Fernando Pérez Memén, *El episcopado y la Independencia de México (1810-1836)* (Ciudad de México: El Colegio de México, 2014).

<sup>73</sup> For an informative review of the coronation, see David López Carbajal, ‘Una liturgia de ruptura: el ceremonial de consagración y coronación de Agustín I’, *Signos históricos*, 13.25 (2011), 69–99  
<[http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci\\_arttext&pid=S1665-44202011000100003&lng=en&tlng=es](http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1665-44202011000100003&lng=en&tlng=es)>.

prelates. In the 1830s, when only three active bishops were in Mexico, the debate spilled over whether an individual Mexican state could choose its prelates.<sup>74</sup>

Successive constitutions approved in Mexico were of paramount interest to all parties in the church-state debate. After negotiations, the Ultramontanists achieved significant success in that the 1824 Constitution contained the following provision in Article 3, taken from the Spanish Constitution of 1812: “The religion of the Mexican nation is and perpetually will be Catholic: Apostolic and Roman. The nation will protect it with wise and just laws and prohibits the exercise of any other.” The preamble to this constitution was written: “In the name of God all-powerful, author and supreme legislator of society.”<sup>75</sup> The next thirty-three years were a time of constitutional, political, economic, and military disorder in Mexico. The church-state issue gathered momentum with the beginning of the Reform Debates in the 1850s.

Protestant missionaries began infiltrating Mexico despite their legal exclusion, especially in the north. Freemasonry also expanded. The York and Scottish rites took different sides on many political issues. Freemasonry never identified itself as a religion. Archbishop of Mexico Mora y del Rio declared that Freemasonry, liberals (carrancistas), and Protestants conspired together in a united assault upon the Church. Together they were considered a significant threat and enemy to the prerogatives of the Catholic power base.<sup>76</sup>

The Constitution of 1857 was a victory for the liberal or progressive factions in Mexico. It is important to note that those who argued for changes in how the Constitution limited the Church

---

<sup>74</sup> Pérez Memén, *El episcopado y la Independencia de México*, ch. IV, sec. VI and ch. V, sec. III, trans. by the author. For a history of the chaos brought about by this early crisis of church and state in Mexico, see Harold Sims, *The Expulsion of Mexico's Spaniards, 1821-1836*, Pitt Latin American Series (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1990).

<sup>75</sup> *Constitución Federal de los Estados-unidos mexicanos 1824* <<http://www.ordenjuridico.gob.mx/Constitucion/1824B.pdf>>. Translated by the author.

<sup>76</sup> Robert Quirk, *The Mexican Revolution and the Catholic Church 1920-1929* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973), p. 74. This somewhat worn resource still contains vital insights into the late revolutionary period.

were not, by and large, against the core tenets of personal spirituality: faith, piety, and sacrality. León Guzmán, liberal Vice President of the Constitutional Convention in 1856, in his prologue to the constitution, repeatedly named Providence as a guide in their work and summarized his gratitude in “the holy name of God.” Many anticlericals, divided more by local and regional concerns than by left (liberal) or right (conservative), wanted to lessen the Church’s power, authority, rights, and control over the totality of Mexican social life, including its all-important and strongly inculcated religious patrimony.<sup>77</sup>

The 1857 constitution neither made the Roman Catholic faith the official religion of Mexico nor guaranteed religious freedom. It skirted this critical issue. It did limit many of the Church’s prerogatives, including freeing education from “dogma,”<sup>78</sup> thus ensuring opposition from the faithful.

---

<sup>77</sup> Fernando Cervantes, ‘Mexico's "Ritual Constant": Religion and Liberty from Colony to Post-Revolution’, in *Faith and Impiety in Revolutionary Mexico*, ed. by Butler, 57-73. Cervantes makes a powerful case for a regional or local basis for expressions of anticlericalism in Mexico from colonial Mexico through the late revolutionary period contemporary with the time frame of this thesis. This is in contrast to earlier analysis of anticlericalism as primarily that of liberal (anticlerical) versus conservative (supportive of the Church). In addition, Lawrence, *Insurgency, counter-insurgency and policing*, p. 7, makes a case for extensive revolutionary-era anticlericalism in the Mexican army, especially among the officers. For further evidence of this trend to move away from the reductionist liberal versus conservative divide, see Melissa Boyd, ‘The Political Career and Ideology of Mariano Otero, Mexican Politician (1817-1850)’ (PhD, University of St Andrews, 2012), pp. 162-203. Boyd explains that moderate and faithful Catholic Otero, an early Mexican legislator and legal scholar was critical of the church’s dominant role in Mexican society, its power, wealth, and influence while maintaining fealty to its spiritual purpose and influence. This is reminiscent of recent scholarship about the aforementioned General and President Álvaro Obregón who lived eighty years later and who personally advocated for a greater piety on the part of the Church, while advocating strongly for a lesser role for it in politics, governance, and society. See p. 32, fn. 91 for more sources delineating the nature of Obregón’s anticlericalism.

<sup>78</sup> This thesis will use the term “dogma” in two different meanings. The first, as used herein is a dogma that refers to its usage as a translation for the Greek word “*didaskalia*” or “teaching.” In this sense it refers to Biblical teaching and is closely aligned with doctrine in New Testament Christianity, especially in a Catholic theological sense. In this sense the words dogma and doctrine are almost synonymous. The framers of the 1857 constitution thus wanted to free the document, and thus Mexican law from formal Catholic Church teachings or “dogma.” The second usage of the word in this thesis will refer to “*dogma*” as used in the words “dogmatic” or “dogmatism.” In this sense it is from the Greek word *dogma*, rarely used in the Bible in comparison to *didaskalia*. In modern usage (dogmatism), dogma refers to situations where someone presents their personal or group-shared opinions or beliefs as facts or truth with a high degree of certitude. Understanding these two uses of the term dogma will help explain my differentiation later in this thesis between doctrine in its dogma sense and dogma used in a dogmatic or opinionated sense, perhaps used in terms of ideological and political dogma.

One person's dogma was another's patrimony. What mattered most was the ability of the faithful to interact, believe, and worship as they saw fit at a local or regional level. Morris explains that when speaking of the participants in the Second Cristiada in the Gran Nayar, "opposition was predicated less on their allegiance to political Catholicism and more on the dynamics of local factional conflict, combined with popular hostilities to state policies. . . ."<sup>79</sup>

Alonso provides a clear example of this in her inference that it was vital for the inhabitants of Tomóchi, a village in southwestern Chihuahua, the site of a well-known 1892 rebellion that they were "free to believe in whatever they wanted and to worship a ravine if they felt like it."<sup>80</sup> Such was their religious patrimony. They fought to the death against the overwhelming power of the Mexican federal military and Chihuahuense state militia forces to preserve it.<sup>81</sup> In the same year, in northwestern Chihuahua a brief but tragically violent revolt took place in the new community of Ascensión. Federal forces were called in to quell the revolt, but not before three men, including the newly-elected mayor lost their lives in a brutal fashion.<sup>82</sup>

After early attempts to promote anticlericalism, Porfirio Díaz, ever the pragmatist, reduced the pressure on the Church while tolerating the growth of Protestants in Mexico. Catholics regained some influence during his long tenure as president, only to be severely impacted by the Mexican

---

<sup>79</sup> Nathaniel Morris, *Soldiers, Saints, and Shamans: Indigenous Communities and the Revolutionary State in Mexico's Gran Nayar, 1910-1940* (Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 2022), p. 216.

<sup>80</sup> Ana M. Alonso, *Thread of Blood: Colonialism, Revolution, and Gender on Mexico's Northern Frontier* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1995), p. 206.

<sup>81</sup> The conflict at Tomóchi is an excellent example of the challenges of determining the exact causation for many of the conflicts in the long view of the Revolution, from the 1890s to the 1940. In the first of three highly regarded accounts, Vanderwood viewed that conflict as primarily a religious one; Vargas, in his edited volume lists both political and religious causes; Almada deems the conflict from his perspective as primarily political and due to a lack of resources. See Paul J. Vanderwood, *The Power of God against the Guns of Government: Religious Upheaval in Mexico at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998); Jesús Vargas Valdez (ed.), *Tomóchic: La Revolución Adelantada: Resistencia y lucha de un pueblo de Chihuahua con el sistema porfirista (1891-1892)*, Vol. I (Ciudad Juárez: Universidad Autónoma de Cd Juárez, 1994); Francisco R. Almada, *La rebelión de Tomóchi* (Ciudad Chihuahua: Talleres Gráficos del Gobierno del Estado, 1938).

<sup>82</sup> José Angel Hernandez, "Violence as Communication: The Revolt of La Ascensión, Chihuahua (1892)," *Landscapes of Violence*, Vol. 2: No. 1, Article 6, 1-22. <http://scholarworks.umass.edu/lov/vol2/iss1/6>.

Revolution's coming in 1910.<sup>83</sup> The Church, for the most part was on the sidelines during the revolution's early years.<sup>84</sup>

In 1917 during the drafting and approval of the new constitution, the Church felt the pain of an outspoken liberal/radical anticlericalism and iconoclasm. These new liberals, products of broader enlightenment and more ideological than their predecessors, lashed out at the Church's failure to meet its members' physical and spiritual needs. The educational needs of the children in a dogma-free environment became a priority. This simmering conflict was not merely a replay of the century-old debate between two behemoths (state and church) looking to dominate the other for power and authority. To a new degree, it was an anticlericalism built on ideology, philosophy, and pedagogy as practiced and advocated in both the United States and Europe.

Advocates for this ideological anticlericalism include Moisés Sáenz and José Vasconcelos. Sáenz was a Nuevoleonese Protestant educator trained at the University of Paris who obtained his doctorate under John Dewey at Columbia University. He became very influential in the Department of Public Education in Mexico, where he actively promoted a theory of Indigenous education.<sup>85</sup> José Vasconcelos represented similar philosophical passions for education and against the Church. He was heavily engaged (and routinely exiled) in striving for Mexican educational transformation. Born in Oaxaca and trained in Coahuila's border area, Vasconcelos developed a "respect-disrespect" perspective for all things Anglo. He is probably Mexico's most famous revolutionary-era educator.<sup>86</sup>

---

<sup>83</sup> Romana Falcón and Raymond Buve (eds.), *Don Porfirio presidente: Hallazgos, reflexiones y debates. 1876-1911* (México: Universidad Iberoamericana, 1998).

<sup>84</sup> Robert Weis (ed.), *For Christ and Country: Militant Catholic youth in post-revolutionary Mexico*, Cambridge Latin American studies, 115 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

<sup>85</sup> Baldwin, *Protestants and the Mexican Revolution*, pp. 77-79, 137-139, 170-171.

<sup>86</sup> For the life of Vasconcelos, see Ilan Stavans, *José Vasconcelos: The Prophet of Race* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Press, 2011).

This increased pattern of iconoclasm and anticlericalism stemmed from differing motivations. They included greed on the part of those desiring a portion of the Church's wealth. A powerful and complex set of reasons was found in those who had very personal negative experiences with priests or the Church. Their antagonism often expressed itself in acts of violence. Francisco Villa and his general, Tomás Urbina, were examples of those who sought to settle old scores, mainly with priests. Regarding Villa, Catholic polemicist O'Rourke states that to his knowledge, within the State of Chihuahua, the unpredictable Villa never "raised his hand" against a single Catholic priest.<sup>87</sup>

Some were energized in their dislike for the Catholic Church by their politics, philosophy, or understanding of Mexican history. Some, among the political class, were motivated by a rivalry between church and state. Both sought the ability to influence and control Mexican society and people.<sup>88</sup>

Alberto Maria Carreño, a Mexico City-based professor and intermediary between Portes Gil and the Catholic Church, sought to end the Cristero War. He suggested to the Catholic leadership that a political agreement be made to return to the Constitution of 1857, absent its anticlerical provisions. This idea was in conformity with a segment of the Cristero population, who advocated for a return to the 1857 Constitution in its form prior to the Lerdo additions to it in 1873. For example, the head of *La Liga Nacional Defensora de la Libertad Religiosa*, Capistrán Garza had a similar plan for a government formed under the Constitution of 1857.<sup>89</sup> This plan was never adopted, and within a year, the Arreglos were signed, which ended the conflict for a fleeting time.

---

<sup>87</sup> Gerald O'Rourke, *La Persecución Religiosa en Chihuahua: 1913-1938* (Ciudad Chihuahua: Editorial Camino, 1991), pp. 197-198.

<sup>88</sup> For more information on anticlericalism during this time period, see Philip R. Stover, *The Search for the Soul of Mexico: Religion and Revolution*, Vol I (Deming, NM: Rio Vista Press, 2018), pp. 155-165.

<sup>89</sup> Quirk, *The Mexican Revolution*, p. 209.

Álvaro Obregón, as a Constitutionalist military leader, led his troops in iconoclasm – the destruction of churches, statues, and icons.<sup>90</sup> As president (1920-1924), however, he valued a more discreet approach, imploring the Church to find its spirituality and the clergy, its piety.<sup>91</sup>

The presidency of Plutarco Elías Calles caused the debate to rise to the level of open conflict. His strict enforcement of the articles related to the Catholic Church in the 1917 Constitution caused a revolution of a different kind among the church faithful. Warfare between church laity and government forces was the result.<sup>92</sup> In central and west-central Mexico, terrible death and destruction characterized 1926-1929. The second wave of conflict that would soon enflame Mexico followed in the 1930s.

One of the winds that fanned that flame was a series of encyclicals published by Pope Pius XI to the Mexican Catholic hierarchy and people. The first, *Iniquis afflictisque* was published in 1926, just prior to the time of La Segunda.<sup>93</sup> The second, *Acerba animi* was published in September 1932. It was a scathing rebuke to the Mexican government and President Calles at the apogee of his power. In it, Pope Pius used language such as extreme hostility, despotism, slanderous, irreligious and immoral, deplorable measures, condemned by God, iniquitously and impiously derogate, and

---

<sup>90</sup> Pedro F. Castro Martínez, *Álvaro Obregón: Fuego y cenizas de la revolución mexicana*, (México, D.F.: Ediciones Era Dirección General de Publicaciones, 2009). This book provides excellent insight into the pragmatic and adaptive nature of Obregón over his career.

<sup>91</sup> Ben Fallaw, 'Varieties of Mexican Revolutionary Anticlericalism: Radicalism, Iconoclasm, and Otherwise, 1914-1935', *The Americas*, 65.4 (2009), 481–509 (p. 507); Bailey, 'Álvaro Obregón and Anticlericalism', pp. 183-198.

<sup>92</sup> Jürgen Buchenau, *Plutarco Elías Calles and the Mexican Revolution* (Lanham Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007); Buchenau, *The Sonoran Dynasty in Mexico*. Both of these books provide insight into the character of Calles and the Maximato.

<sup>93</sup> Memoria Política de México, *1926 Encíclica Iniquis Afflictisque, sobre la durísima situación del catolicismo en México. Pío XI: Roma, en San Pedro, 18 de noviembre de 1926* (2023), <<https://www.memoriapoliticademexico.org/Textos/6Revolucion/1926IQA.html>>.



pernicious to describe the actions of the Mexican government.<sup>94</sup> This was then published in Mexican newspapers which further exacerbated the tensions.

The third, *Firmísimam constantiam* was published in March 1937. It has a completely different tone from *Acerba animi*.<sup>95</sup> This 1937 encyclical was written to the faithful. It exhorted them to make the Catholic church more relevant and necessary in Mexican culture through what was called Catholic Action. This was a movement throughout the Mexican church to create Catholic organizations to help their communities by solving social problems and further social justice.<sup>96</sup>

### **A Brief Contextual History of Northern Mexico**

The vast and diverse geography of New Spain, especially in the north, brought significant variability in the government's presence and authority. Spanish explorers ventured into the unknown north, yet it took years before others followed, especially to colonize. Desolate terrain, lack of wealth, and resistant locals such as the Yaqui of Sonora, the Tepehuán, Apache, and Rarámuri of Chihuahua, together with a lack of resources, all played a part in this reality.

Colonizers fought against the rugged land and the Indigenous locals from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries.<sup>97</sup> Those strong enough to survive in the harsh deserts and

---

<sup>94</sup> Memoria Política de México, *1932 Encíclica Acerba Animi. Sobre la persecución de la Iglesia de México. Pío XI. Roma, en San Pedro, 29 de septiembre de 1932* (2023), <<https://www.memoriapoliticademexico.org/Textos/6Revolucion/1932-AAE.html>>.

<sup>95</sup> Pius XI Encyclicals, *Firmísimam Constantiam Encyclical of Pope Pius XI on the religious situation in Mexico to the venerable brethren, the archbishops, bishops, and other ordinaries of Mexico in peace and communion with the Apostolic See* <[https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf\\_p-xi\\_enc\\_19370328\\_firmissimam-constantiam.html](https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_19370328_firmissimam-constantiam.html)>.

<sup>96</sup> E. R. Gotshall, JR., 'Catholicism and Catholic Action in Mexico 1929-1941: A Church's Response to a Revolutionary Society and the Politics of the Modern Age' (PhD, University of Pittsburgh, 1970), pp. 98-147, 155.

<sup>97</sup> James M. Daniel, 'The Spanish Frontier in West Texas and Northern Mexico', *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 71.4 (1968), 481-495.

mountainous areas became well known for their independence from “outside” dominance, including from Mexico’s state and federal forms of government and the Church’s hierarchy.

This streak of rugged independence would continue into the early twentieth century as the north, especially Chihuahua, endured several different kinds of invasions from north of the border.<sup>98</sup> These included the US army marching from Texas, US religionists (Mormons and Mennonites) seeking sanctuary to practice the dictates of their faith freely, and individuals seeking their way to escape from misfortune (as in the Spanish refugees), or to proselytize any who would heed their message of a new religion (Protestant, LDS, or Pentecostal).<sup>99</sup>

By the end of the nineteenth century, associations and distinctions perceived as being local-centric were likely to be welcomed, accounting partly for Freemasonry and some Protestants’ success in northern Mexico. Most Protestant congregations were self-governing, managing their own affairs according to the desire of their church members. Members of local Masonic lodges in rural areas also made their own decisions.<sup>100</sup> On the other hand, local Catholic churches were under the auspices or control of some invisible and distant hierarchy, along with many local priests who were often not Mexican by birth.

In the early 1890s, local rebellions against outside authority grew violent. For example, the uprising at Tomóchi in Chihuahua involved resentment and intolerance of both Church and

---

<sup>98</sup> James M. Day (ed.), *Morris B. Parker's Mules, Mines & Me in Mexico 1895-1932* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1979); Jason Ruiz, *Americans in the Treasure House: Travel to Porfirian Mexico and the Cultural Politics of Empire* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014). The first of these references presents information about the 1900-1935 time period of Anglo activity in the borderlands, especially in Chihuahua. Popular in style it has many sources and footnotes to document its observations. The second focuses on Anglos in Mexico during the Porfiriato, so its emphasis is on the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>99</sup> Wheeler, Day and Rodgers, *Modern Missions in Mexico*, pp. 9-15, 284-289. This contemporary report from the perspective of the Anglo missionaries is useful to assess the impact of perception on missionary work, especially that of the Presbyterians. It is a report from a commission sent to study the mission work in Mexico.

<sup>100</sup> José L. Trueba Lara, *Masones en México: Historia del poder oculto* (México d.f.: Random House Mondadori, 2007). This is a history of Freemasonry in Mexico through the time of the Mexican Revolution. Of special interest for this thesis are pp. 237-276.

governmental interference in local governance and expressions of faith. Miners like those in Cananea, Sonora, went on strike in 1906, resulting in deaths and injuries.<sup>101</sup>

Religion in northern Mexico was a personal, quotidian, and local affair. Those who fought against the forces of the government to preserve the practice of their faith most often had no broad political-ideological motivations. They wanted to practice their local faith, raise their children, and seek God as they saw fit. They did this without the well-established Church organization that included a priesthood hierarchy and support structure more typical of Mexico's southern and central regions.<sup>102</sup> This lack of ecclesiastical structure and the proximity of the US border opened the door for Protestant, other liberal, and criminal incursions, each adding to the complexity of the times.<sup>103</sup>

Three influential church leaders in this region dominated their respective Catholic jurisdictions during the two Cristiadas. Each of the three rose to be archbishop over their separate ecclesiastical province. Juan Navarrete y Guerrero was the long-term bishop and archbishop of Sonora.<sup>104</sup> Regretting seeking asylum during the First Cristero War, he promised his flock he would never leave Sonora again. The bishop hid in the rugged Sierra Madre mountains near the Chihuahua border. He secretly taught and ordained priests while writing letters, pamphlets, and other missives

---

<sup>101</sup> C. L. Sonnichsen, 'Colonel William C. Greene and the Strike at Cananea, Sonora, 1906', *Arizona and the West*, 13.4 (1971), 343–368. This well-written article by a non-historian provides excellent information about this important early revolutionary event.

<sup>102</sup> Alonso, *Thread of Blood*, p. 29; Stover, *The Search for the Soul of Mexico: Religion and Revolution*, pp. 57-65; Jean-Pierre Bastian, *Protestantismo y sociedad en México* (México D.F. México: CUPSA, 1983), p. 70.

<sup>103</sup> López, *Los Cristeros en Sinaloa*, p. 39.

<sup>104</sup> Juan Navarrete y Guerrero Collection, *The University of Arizona Special Collections (UASC)*, The University of Arizona Special Collection, MS 423, <https://speccoll.library.arizona.edu/collections/juan-navarrete-y-guerrero-collection>.

to encourage his flock.<sup>105</sup> By the end of 1935, Mexican troops sent to Sonora from Chihuahua would burn his hidden seminary and library to the ground.<sup>106</sup>

Bishop Antonio Guizar y Valencia was the Bishop of Chihuahua for almost fifty years. In contrast to his neighboring bishop in Sonora, he opposed any armed resistance to the government and used the threat of his ex-communication powers to enforce his beliefs.<sup>107</sup>

José María González y Valencia, the Archbishop of Durango, was a fiery and enthusiastic leader of his flock.<sup>108</sup> He was one of three bishops representing Mexico's hierarchy to the Vatican. He was an outspoken supporter of armed conflict by the Catholic laity, especially, but not exclusively in the first *cristiada*.<sup>109</sup>

In the north, roadside, home chapels, and local religious fiestas were more important to the faithful than were the far-away hierarchy and cathedrals. These *capillas*, small chapels or shrines were often family or group affiliated. One example of a group that utilizes these small roadside capillas in northern Mexico is the very fast-growing worship of Santa Muerte. Having predominantly existed for many years as a form of house worship, Santa Muerte became more open in Mexico in the late 1930s and early 1940s.<sup>110</sup> During the time of the closure of churches, local-based fealty,

---

<sup>105</sup> Lyle Brown, 'Mexican Church-State Relations, 1933-1940', *A Journal of Church and State*, 6.2 (1964), 202-222 (fn. 31, p. 209). Responding to a question from a friend and strong Catholic, Bishop Navarrete informs him that he would support resistance "as long as such resistance is in accord with natural law and offers solid probability of success."

<sup>106</sup> Adrian A. Bantjes, *As if Jesus Walked on Earth: Cardenismo, Sonora, and the Mexican Revolution*, Latin American silhouettes (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1998), pp. 48-50.

<sup>107</sup> Juan González Morfin, 'Antonio Guizar y Valencia, obispo y arzobispo de Chihuahua, y su influencia en la formación de un laicado católico ajeno a la resistencia armada', *Historial editorial*, VIII.1 (2020), 179-204, <<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7278-7872>>.

<sup>108</sup> It is of interest that the Archbishop of Durango, the fiery and passionate leader of Durango was a first cousin of both the bishop of Chihuahua, Antonio Guizar y Valencia and his brother, the bishop of Veracruz, Rafael Guizar y Valencia. Their respective outlooks on the Cristero conflicts could not have been more different. See Elizabeth D. C. Flores Olague and Jean Meyer, *Cristero, hombre de liberación: Memoria y raigambre identitaria en Cristóbal Acevedo Martínez*, *Historia* (Jalisco, Guadalajara: Editorial Universidad de Guadalajara, 2017), fn. 335, p. 163.

<sup>109</sup> Andrés Barquín y Ruiz, *José María González Valencia, Arzobispo de Durango* (México: Editorial Jus, 1967).

<sup>110</sup> A study of this fast-growing religious expression can be found in R. A. Chesnut, *Devoted to death: Santa Muerte, the Skeleton Saint* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).

often expressed in this semi-public roadside worship, became incrementally more popular.<sup>111</sup> Thus, they allowed personal and familiar worship without the formality of the mass.<sup>112</sup>

The local priests held the means of grace by celebrating the mass, whether for weddings, *quinceañeras* (a memorable coming-of-age ceremony for 15-year-old girls with vital cultural, familial, and religious significance), funerals, festivals, and rarely for the men in attendance, via a regular Sunday service.

The specific statues and icons, lovingly carried on feast days, were sacrosanct to the pueblo and the individual Catholic adherent.<sup>113</sup> Local parish schools educated while reinforcing the values learned in the home and the Church. Mockery, or worse yet, destruction of these sacred symbols (as occurred in the mid-1930s in Sonora and to a lesser degree in Chihuahua), was repugnant to all.<sup>114</sup> This destruction was one of the more insidious forms of anticlericalism that expressed itself in iconoclasm, threatening sectarian patrimony (many of the statues and icons were from the original *Nueva Vizcaya* period) and enflamed the faithful to violence.<sup>115</sup>

---

<sup>111</sup> Frances Lannon, *Privilege, persecution and prophecy: The Catholic Church in Spain, 1875-1975* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), pp. 22-24, 29. This classic study of Catholicism in Spain explains a similar territoriality and importance of roadside shrines scattered around Spain.

<sup>112</sup> While neither book deals solely with Mexico, for further study of the importance of private capillas and local festivals in small communities and on ranches and highways, see James S. Griffith, *Beliefs and Holy Places: A Spiritual Geography of the Pimería Alta* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1992); Charles J. Erasmus, Solomon Miller and Louis C. Faron, *Contemporary Change in Traditional Communities of Mexico and Peru*, *Contemporary Change in Traditional Societies*, III (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1978).

<sup>113</sup> Adrian A. Bantjes, 'Burning Saints, Molding Minds: Iconoclasm, Civic Ritual, and the Failed Cultural Revolution', in *Rituals of Rule, Rituals of Resistance: Public Celebrations and Popular Culture in Mexico*, ed. by William H. Beezley, Cheryl E. Martin and William E. French, *Latin American silhouettes* (Wilmington, Del.: SR Books, 1994), 261-284 (p. 264).

<sup>114</sup> Roberto Blancarte, 'Closing Comment: "Personal Enemies of God: Anticlericals and Anticlericalism in Revolutionary Mexico, 1915-1940"', *The Americas*, 65.4 (2009), 589-599.

<sup>115</sup> Fallaw, 'Varieties of Mexican Revolutionary Anticlericalism'. Fallaw presents a thorough exposition of the various forms of anticlericalism, including iconoclasm used in the revolutionary time period. It is important to note that one entire issue of *The Americas*, Vol. 65, No. 4, Apr. 2009, a journal published by Cambridge University Press was dedicated to the topic of anticlericalism in revolutionary Mexico. In addition to the article by Fallaw, articles therein by Curley, Bantjes, Butler, Benjamin Smith, and Blancarte provide the reader a cornucopia of information on the subject.

## The Ideological Debate over Secular/Socialist Education

In a speech to the 1917 Constitutional Convention, Francisco Múgica declared:

If we permit absolute freedom of education and allow the clergy to come in with their outdated and retrogressive ideas, we shall not form new generations of intellectual and cultivated men. Instead, those who come after us will receive an inheritance of fanaticism of insane principles, and we can be sure that someday new wars will spill the blood of our people.<sup>116</sup>

Such words echoed over the landscape of Mexico as the debate raged over schools, teachers, and education for the next twenty years.

The move to stimulate a socialist model for the nation's schools in the early 1930s was indeed a genuine and earnest effort on the part of many to radically change the Mexican societal mindset by changing the educational system.<sup>117</sup> The goal of a common curriculum was to create a “unified national culture stripped of its Catholic influences.”<sup>118</sup> It was an attempt to do away with what many deemed as “backward” thinking, stripping the rural villages of superstitions and in the view of many fanatical approaches to the unfamiliar and unknown.<sup>119</sup> One of its most significant challenges was that, as a movement, it was ill-defined and lacked judgment in predicting the

---

<sup>116</sup> Quirk, *The Mexican Revolution*, pp. 90–91.

<sup>117</sup> David L. Raby, ‘La “Educación socialista” en México’, *Cuadernos Políticos*, 29 (1981), 75–82 (p. 75).

<sup>118</sup> Andrae M. Marak, *From Many, One: Indians, Peasants, Borders, and Education in Callista Mexico, 1924–1935*, Latin American and Caribbean series, 7 (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2009), p. 159.

<sup>119</sup> Savarino Roggero, *El Conflicto Religioso en Chihuahua*, p. 141.

response of a recalcitrant<sup>120</sup> Mexican pueblo.<sup>121</sup> In this struggle between the elite and the pueblo, neither side would achieve victory in what was, in its essence, a cultural revolution.<sup>122</sup>

Regardless of the nature of their activism, teachers in rural communities were in a dangerous predicament, especially from the Mexican pueblo. Faithful laity viewed the formal teachings of the Church as dogma, or doctrine essential for a proper education. Others, for assorted reasons, considered the same as dogma, strongly held opinions or beliefs, something to be discouraged wherever possible (see p. 28, fn. 78).

This battle between ideological or political dogmatism and doctrine destroyed schools and injured and killed teachers. It fanned the flames of local violence all over Mexico, although to a lesser degree in the north. According to an extensive study by Raby, close to one hundred teachers were killed during the 1930s for assorted reasons.<sup>123</sup> Two hundred teachers were injured, many having suffered mutilation from removing their ears.<sup>124</sup> As with most other issues during this period, the causations were complex and not easily reduced.

---

<sup>120</sup> Alan Knight, 'Revolutionary Project, Recalcitrant People: Mexico, 1910-1940', in *The Revolutionary Process in Mexico: Essays on Political and Social Change, 1880 - 1940*, ed. by Jaime E. Rodríguez O., UCLA Latin American studies series, 72 (Los Angeles, CA: Univ. of California Latin American Center, 1990), pp. 227-264. I use the term "recalcitrant" because it is an excellent descriptor of the people of Mexico who were determined not to be swayed from their quest to ensure their patrimony. After having used the word, I discovered that Knight had used it with the same basic meaning back in 1990.

<sup>121</sup> Mary K. Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in Revolution: Teachers, Peasants, and Schools in Mexico, 1930-1940* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1997) In all of her works, Vaughan provides excellent insight into the challenges of the late revolutionary period's attempt at implementing social change via education.

<sup>122</sup> This conflict is often characterized as being between conservatives and liberals. I believe this perspective is too reductionist. Neither conservative or liberals were monolithic in their approach to the challenges or solutions, whether in nineteenth or twentieth century Mexico. For a brief, yet excellent study of this cultural revolution, see Bantjes, 'Burning Saints, Molding Minds'.

<sup>123</sup> David L. Raby, 'Los maestros rurales y los conflictos sociales en México (1931-1940)', *Historia Mexicana* (1968), 190-226, <<https://historiamexicana.colmex.mx/index.php/RHM/article/view/1210>>. Raby's research into the deaths and wounding of teachers revealed that most suffered because of their activism, not just of a religious nature, but for many other forms of activism, including agrarian and other social or political issues. Although Raby's study is now more than fifty years old, I know of no new study that counteracts his findings.

<sup>124</sup> Jean Meyer, *La Cristiada I – la guerra de los cristeros* (Madrid: siglo xxi editores, 1994), p. 363.

During this time, three men were either blamed or praised for their liberal bent and role in the revision from secular to “socialist” public education in Mexico.<sup>125</sup> The three included José Vasconcelos and Moisés Sáenz. The third, Narciso Bassols, was an influential Secretary of Public Education.<sup>126</sup> He worked hard to implement the anticlerical sections of Article 3 of the 1917 Constitution. These three men were integral in transforming educational policy throughout the nation.<sup>127</sup>

The late 1920s and early 1930s were a time of change and incredible growth in public education throughout Mexico. In the decade between 1922 and 1932, the number of rural government schools supervised by the Department of Education grew from 309 to 6,796. The number of students increased from 17,925 to 593,183. Teachers’ ranks grew from 400 to 8,442.<sup>128</sup>

This period was a time of -isms for all sides of the educational debate. Conservatives fought what they perceived to be rationalism, socialism, communism, and Marxism. Liberals detested fanaticism, clericalism, anarchism, colonialism, and radicalism.<sup>129</sup>

---

<sup>125</sup> Martínez Álvarez, *Cronología Documental del Conflicto Religioso*, pp. 422-423. It is important to remember the Article 3 in the original Constitution of 1917 called for secular education, while as can be read in this source, the revisions of the same article in December 1934 called for a socialist education in the schools.

<sup>126</sup> Francisco Arce Gurza, ‘En busca de una educación revolucionaria: 1924-1934’, in *Ensayos sobre historia de la educación revolucionaria*, ed. by Josefina Zoraida Vázquez and others (México D.F.: El Colegio De Mexico, 2013), 145-187; Zavala Ramírez, María del Carmen, ‘¿De quién son los niños? Estado, familia y educación sexual en México en la década de 1930’, *Signos históricos*, xxi (2019), 154–191. These articles provide an overview of Bassol’s impact on 1930s public education in Mexico.

<sup>127</sup> Brown, ‘Mexican Church-State Relations’, p. 204. According to the reaction from the everyday people, Bassols went too far in his attempt to implement what was not just a socialist education but a primary and secondary sex education curriculum as well. The opposition to this program forced his resignation.

<sup>128</sup> Boletín de la Secretaría de Educación Pública, II núm. 5, 35 in John A. Britton, ‘Moisés Sáenz: Nacionalista mexicano’, *Historia Mexicana*, 22.1 (1972), 77–97.

<sup>129</sup> For further reading, see Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes*, pp. 57-58, 109-177, 199-222; John W. Sherman, *The Mexican Right: The End of Revolutionary Reform* (Westport, RI: Praeger, 1997), pp. 9-10, 61, 73-75, 89-90, 102-103, 136.



On July 20, 1934, Plutarco Elias Calles, former president and still the most powerful man in Mexico, appeared on a balcony in Guadalajara, Jalisco. On national radio, he delivered one of his most famous speeches, “El Grito of Guadalajara.”<sup>130</sup> In part, he warned his listeners:

The revolution has not ended. Its eternal enemies still try to ambush it and negate its triumphs. We must enter a new period of the Revolution, which I am calling the period of the psychological revolution; we must seize and take control of the consciences of the children, the consciences of the youth because they are and ought to belong to the revolution. It is absolutely necessary to remove the enemy from the trench where the clergy are, where the conservatives are; I am referring to the school. It would be a grave clumsiness; it would be criminal for the men of the revolution if we didn't take them away from the claws of the clergy and the claws of the conservatives; and unfortunately, the school in many states of the Republic and in the capital, itself is directed by clerical and reactionary elements. . . . It is the revolution that has the indispensable duty of the consciences of banishing prejudices and to form the new national soul.<sup>131</sup>

In the general time frame of this thesis, three rebellions made informal agreements with the Cristeros, the delahuertistas, escobaristas, and sinarquistas. The escobaristas were especially active in the north. None of the three were successful in accomplishing their goals. Government power coalesced against them. The rebellions were fiercely fought but short-lived.<sup>132</sup>

---

<sup>130</sup> Martínez Álvarez, *Cronología Documental del Conflicto Religioso*, pp. 415-416.

<sup>131</sup> José M. Muriá and Federico A. Solórzano, *Historia de Jalisco: Tomo IV* (Guadalajara, Jalisco: Gobierno de Jalisco, Secretaria General, Unidad Editorial, Guadalajara, Jalisco, México, 1982), pp. 534-535; Raby, ‘La "Educación socialista"’, pp. 77, 78 (slight variations in page numbers may exist). Muriá is a prolific historian, writing specifically on the history of Jalisco.

<sup>132</sup> For an excellent overview of the delahuertista rebellion, see Soledad García Morales, *La rebelión delahuertista en Veracruz (1923)* (Xalapa: Universidad Veracruzana, 1986); Georgette José, ‘La Rebelión Delahuertista’, in *2020 – El Ejército Mexicano: 100 años de historia*, ed. by Garciadiego Dantan (2020), pp. 213–70.

## Land and Liberty – Agrarian Issues Take the Forefront

After many years of revolutionary pain and suffering, unkept promises remained, including failure to make considerable progress in appropriating land for the masses. Agrarian conflicts were ubiquitous throughout northern Mexico in the 1892-1940 revolutionary time frame. In the north, especially in Chihuahua, the hacienda system focused on a peasant working class working, living, and worshipping, with economic dependence on the hacendado as the norm.

A quick view of the various revolutionary movement slogans reveals the importance of land in their programs. The *zapatistas* and the *magonistas* (*Partido Liberal Mexicano*) marched under the banner of '*Tierra y Libertad*' (Land and Liberty). Northerners who followed Generals Maximo Castillo (*castillistas*) or Pascual Orozco (*orozquistas*) marched under the slogan '*Tierra y Justicia*' (Land and Justice).

Linking the concepts of land and justice in the slogan of Orozco indicates the importance of both as unfulfilled realities in Orozco's mind. While virtually all Mexican leaders recognized the need to solve the land problem, there was little agreement on the best method for doing so. Breaking up the *latifundia* or large estates was an agreed-upon strategy by most revolutionary-minded leaders. The challenge was what came next.

Many believed in the benefit of some form of return to the old *ejido* system, possibly derived in Mexico from pre-conquest Indigenous concepts of land ownership that were adopted by their Spanish conquerors.<sup>133</sup> Others thought the key to the solution was to provide small farms or ranches of 100 hectares or less, giving a family a sense of pride in ownership in supporting the family.

---

<sup>133</sup> Charles C. Cumberland, 'Genesis of Mexican Agrarian Reform', *The Historian*, 14.2 (1952), 209-232 (p. 209); Simpson, *The Ejido: Mexico's Way Out*, pp. 3-8.

Others, such as the widely respected Luis Cabrera, believed that the only viable solution was an implementation of both strategies – ejidos and *pequeñas propiedades* or small properties.<sup>134</sup> This debate carried into the land disputes of the 1930s, partly because of how poorly the ejido solution was implemented, deemed a failure by former President Calles.<sup>135</sup> Another reason for the conflicts related to land distribution was the desire to give something to everyone and create the perfect political machine, as seen in the Callista birthing of the PNR political party that would dominate Mexico for decades.<sup>136</sup>

**Figure 2 Laws, Decrees, and Executive Orders Related to Ejidos 1915-1934**

Type of Legislation	Date Signed	No. of Revisions	Dates of Revisions
Basic Legislation	6-Jan-15	2	1915-1933
Distribution of Land to Villages	19-Jan-16	35	1916-1934
Compensation for Expropriation	10-Jan-20	21	1920-1934
Miscellaneous	23-Jun-20	11	1920-1932
Settlement of Public Lands	2-Aug-23	9	1923-1934
Agricultural Credits	29-Sep-24	22	1924-1934
Irrigation and National Waters	1-Jan-25	16	1925-1929
Administration of Ejidos	16-Jul-25	6	1916-1932
Colonization	5-Apr-26	4	1926-1932

The early twentieth-century history of federal laws, decrees, and executive orders that were passed to deal with agrarian issues was complex and everchanging. The above table (See **Figure**

<sup>134</sup> In a 1917 in a speech in the United States, Cabrera, then the Secretary of Finance under the Carranza administration insisted on implementation of both strategies to solve the “land problem.” Cabrera, ‘The Mexican Revolution’, p. 7.

<sup>135</sup> ‘Calles Urges Change in Agrarian Policy: Former Mexican President Says Methods So Far Have Failed—Would Cut Land Distribution’, *New York Times*, 24 June 1930, p. 6. The sentiment of trying to please everyone and the failure of the then current agrarian policy was captured in this 1930 conversation between strongman and ex-president Calles and some friends in which he was quoted as saying, “If we wish to be sincere with ourselves, we must confess as sons of the Mexican revolution that agrarianism, as we have understood it and practiced it hitherto, has been a failure.”

<sup>136</sup> Simpson, *The Ejido: Mexico's Way Out*, p. 112. Simpson says the same just a little bit differently in his analysis of President Pascual Ortiz Rubio’s thinking about the challenges of land distribution. He characterizes the Mexican president’s position in the 1930s as “In fact, everybody should be protected—the ejidatarios, the peon, the small property owner, and the big hacendado.” For more on the founding of the PNR, see Buchenau, *Plutarco Elías Calles and the Mexican Revolution*, pp. 154-158, 166-168.

2) provides insight into the laws, their date-of-origin, subject matter, and frequency of revisions.<sup>137</sup>

The frequency of revisions in the first twenty years of the formalized Ejido program in Mexico is interesting. If we conclude that the number of revisions indicates a controversial or challenging nature, then the distribution of land, agricultural credits, and compensation for expropriation were the most contentious and complex changes to implement over the first twenty years of the program.

While land reforms were key revolutionary motivations, they were quite complicated to implement. Land in Mexico was in the hands of the rich, powerful, or foreign-born for many years. Two intriguing and unexpected examples of foreign-born land ownership occurred in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. These involved the migration into Sonora and Chihuahua of two faith groups. The first to emigrate were Anglo-Mormons representing fourteen different countries from the United States.<sup>138</sup> Anglo-Mennonites formed the second group, migrating to Chihuahua and Durango from Canada in the early 1920s. These soft invasions of Anglos into Chihuahua drastically lessened the land available for the locals to use for ejido. Great resentment against the groups and the Mexican government was the result.<sup>139</sup>

It would be simplistic and reductionist to claim that this local resentment was because of these Anglo foreigners' faiths. Such bitterness resulted from resource loss to outsiders, a rerun of the Porfiriato with an added sectarianism dimension. It was correctly perceived as a governmental

---

<sup>137</sup> Simpson, *The Ejido: Mexico's Way Out*, pp. 719-745.

<sup>138</sup> The determination that the Anglo-Mormons who migrated into Mexico represented fourteen different countries stems from my analysis of the first-hand accounts of the initial pioneers from the 1880s in Nelle Spilsbury Hatch and B. C. Hardy, *Stalwarts South of the Border* (Ernestine Hatch, 1985). Many of those who migrated south into Mexico were first generation Mormons, having been converted in Europe by missionaries sent there to proselytize.

<sup>139</sup> Clear evidence of this is that within weeks of the Mennonites' arrival in Chihuahua President Obregón telegraphed a warning to the military zone commander in Chihuahua to protect the newly-arrived migrants from bandits or malcontents. Luis Aboites Aguilar, *Norte precario: Poblamiento y colonización en México (1760-1940)* (México D.F.: El Colegio de México, 1995), p. 191.

anti-Catholic anticlericalism of a different kind, especially when locals became aware of the special privileges provided to the new interlopers. In late-revolutionary northern Mexico, Anglo-Mennonites and Mormons became the new *hacendados*.<sup>140</sup> Conflicts created by their presence and purchase of land will be evidenced in chapters three and four.

Complicating the picture was the importance of land, especially to the Indigenous of rural Mexico, including Chihuahua. It was the place of “sacred trails,” and the land had ties to creation itself. It was a place that was “simultaneously culture, identity, and history.”<sup>141</sup> The land had more than economic meaning to many rural Mexicans. In that sense, land and family were the same; both were worth *la lucha* (the fight). They were each vital components of patrimony or *costumbre* (customary) practices and values that, in some cases, went back centuries.

Two notable revolutionary generals in the north may have been the first to redistribute hacienda land among the people. Maximo Castillo in Chihuahua and Lucio Blanco of Coahuila were only months apart in their distribution of hacienda properties in 1913. Castillo was captured in 1914 in New Mexico under suspicion of having masterminded the destruction of Chihuahua’s Cumbre Tunnel (railroad), resulting in the loss of sixty lives. He was interned at Forts Bliss and Wingate. Still

---

<sup>140</sup> In Cabrera, ‘The Mexican Revolution’, p. 10, the aforementioned Luis Cabrera, in his 1917 speech in the United States, clearly stated the challenge: “The problem for Mexico is to find the way in which foreign money and immigrants can freely come to Mexico and contribute to her progress without becoming a privileged class. Instead of becoming a growing menace to the sovereignty of Mexico, they should contribute to the consolidation of her sovereignty and her independence as a nation.” This succinctly states the challenge of Mormons and Mennonites to find acceptance and the locals to grant them acceptance in spite of and in some cases because of the privileges they were granted.

<sup>141</sup> Morris, *Soldiers, Saints, and Shamans*, pp, 23-24. Morris’ laboratory was the Gran Nayar region of central-northwest Mexico, where especially in Durango, the Second Cristiada was typified by agrarian and religious conflicts melded into resistance to ideological change.

maintaining his innocence for the crime, he most likely died in Cuba in 1919.<sup>142</sup> General Blanco went into exile in Laredo, Texas, and was killed in an ambush in 1922.<sup>143</sup>

**Figure 3 Distribution of Land for Ejidos by President from 1915 to 1940**

President	Term	Hectares Designated as Ejido
Carranza, V.	1915-20	224,000
Huerta, de la A.	May-Nov 1920	158,000
Obregón, A	1920-24	1,677,000
Calles, P. Elías	1924-28	3,195,000
Portes Gil, E.	1928-30	2,066,000
Ortiz Rubio, P.	1930-32	1,204,000
Rodríguez, A.	1932-1934	2,095,000
Cárdenas, L	1934-1940	20,073,000
<b>Total</b>		<b>30,692,000</b>

It is rather self-evident from this chart (See **Figure 3**) that President Lázaro Cárdenas had the most significant impact on land distributions, almost twice as much (10,619,000 to 20,073,000 hectares) as all the other mid to late-revolutionary presidents combined.<sup>144</sup> He was also the first, since the presidential term was expanded in 1928, to serve a full six-year term as president.

In this thesis, it is neither desirable nor possible to provide an extensive general history of agrarian issues and ejido conflicts in Mexico or its north. For sure, agrarian conflict was ever-present across Mexico in the mid to late-revolutionary era.<sup>145</sup>

<sup>142</sup> For more information on Maximo Castillo, see Jesús Vargas Valdés, *Máximo Castillo and the Mexican Revolution*, Aliaga-Buchenau, Ana-Isabel, Translator (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2016); Jesús Vargas Valdés, *Máximo Castillo y la revolución en Chihuahua*, Serie Chihuahua en la Revolución (Chihuahua, México: Biblioteca Chihuahuense, 2009). The first Castillo book is a copy of his personal memoirs in English. The second is the original Spanish edition. Both editions include notes and insights by Dr. Vargas.

<sup>143</sup> For further information on Lucio Blanco, see Alfonso F. Sapia-Bosch, 'The Role of General Lucio Blanco in the Mexican Revolution, 1913-1922' (Ph.D. Dissertation, Georgetown University, 1977).

<sup>144</sup> Juan A. Figueras, 'Agrarian Reform and Agricultural Development in Mexico' (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Florida, 1972), p. 79. Figueras' chart includes a listing of ejidos created by presidents up through 1970. I recreated his chart to reflect those presidents of interest to this thesis.

<sup>145</sup> As previously stated, I take what is sometimes thought of as a "long" view of the Mexican revolution, especially in the north. The *cuna* or cradle of the revolution is evidenced in local rebellions and revolts against the appointed jefe políticos in such Chihuahuense locales as Ojinaga, Ascensión, and Tomóchi as early as 1892. I envision

## Geographical Scope

This thesis will focus primarily on La Segunda events in the State of Chihuahua in northwestern Mexico. It shares a long and porous border with the United States. Topography dominates Chihuahua with its rugged and remote terrain. Chihuahua is famed for its populace's tough and independent nature, which by the 1930s included Mestizos, groups of religiously-affiliated Anglos, native people, and freemasons who, each in their own way, sowed their seeds of radical and independent thought. Historian Friedrich Katz noted that northern Mexico was an "important center of rural unrest."<sup>146</sup>

Deacon and Catholic historian O'Rourke continually makes note of the Masonic relationships of the governors of Chihuahua who were most strident in their persecution of the church. He blames Masons for promoting sex education, and causing divisions between teachers, parents, and students. He adds that the Masonic movement was particularly strong in the Juárez area. He concludes "The violent attack on Catholic awareness of children was particularly strong in Ciudad Juárez where Masons built a fortress because of its strategic proximity to their American brothers."<sup>147</sup>

This unrest manifested in the mining strikes and turmoil in neighboring northwestern Sonora, the local pueblo-centered revolutionary, and in agrarian unrest over virtually the entire state of Chihuahua. Referring to the lawlessness of the north, Alan Knight went a step further,

---

the length of the revolution extending until 1940 with the demise of the Sinarquista rebellions, a combination of land, religious, and ideological uprisings. Obviously, such a delineation is somewhat arbitrary. Scholars vary widely in their understanding of what was the "Mexican Revolution," even to the extent of whether it is more accurate to understand it as a series of events or one continued conflict across Mexico. For a perspective on a "long view" of the Mexican revolution, see Alan Knight, 'The End of the Mexican Revolution?: From Cárdenas to Avila Camacho, 1937-1941', in *Dictablanda*, ed. by Gillingham and Smith, 47-69.

<sup>146</sup> Friedrich Katz, 'Rural Rebellions after 1810', in *Riot, Rebellion, and Revolution*, ed. by Friedrich Katz (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2016), 521-560 (p. 536). Katz's book provides an understanding of historic 19<sup>th</sup> century roots of the 20<sup>th</sup> century revolution and late-revolutionary periods.

<sup>147</sup> O'Rourke, *La Persecución Religiosa en Chihuahua*, p. 107.

deeming this region the “anomic (lawless) north.”<sup>148</sup> It was a wildly fierce and independent region known for its harsh climate, topography, and hardy people who could live and thrive in such a remote place. Knight provides insight into the rancharo and very tight community identity in northern Mexico, specifically in northwest Chihuahua. Jane Dale Lloyd also provides excellent insight into the rancharo and close-knit community identity in northern Mexico, specifically in northwest Chihuahua.<sup>149</sup>

The colonial period of modern Mexico’s history has left an indelible mark on this region. Today’s residents align closely with their ancestors who founded this vast region. The old ones were the hardy folk who fought the climate, topography, and soil to create a sense of *Hogar* (home). *Presidios* (fortified localities) gave way to *pueblos* as the Spanish settlers struggled to build communities, mostly on their own. The Suma, Tepehuán, and the Apache were prone to resist the Spanish. Even into the twentieth century, the Apache fought the Sonoran and Chihuahuense mestizo with a powerful sense of vengeance.<sup>150</sup>

Northerners’ source of authority and identity was neither far-off Mexico City nor the grand cathedrals in their capital cities. Identity centered on the individual, family, and local community. See **Figure 4**, p. 49 for how few priests, due to the anticlerical legislations in Chihuahua and other northern states, were active in the north in the 1930s. Many Northerners were skeptical regarding the hierarchy and reach of the Catholic Church as a monolithic entity that had little influence or meaning in their lives. Local villagers were more loyal to their resident priest, depending on his

---

<sup>148</sup> Stover, *The Search for the Soul of Mexico: Religion and Revolution*, pp. 57-65; Alan Knight, “The Mentality and Modus Operandi of Revolutionary Anticlericalism,” in *Faith and Impiety in Revolutionary Mexico*, ed. by Butler, 21–56 (p. 32).

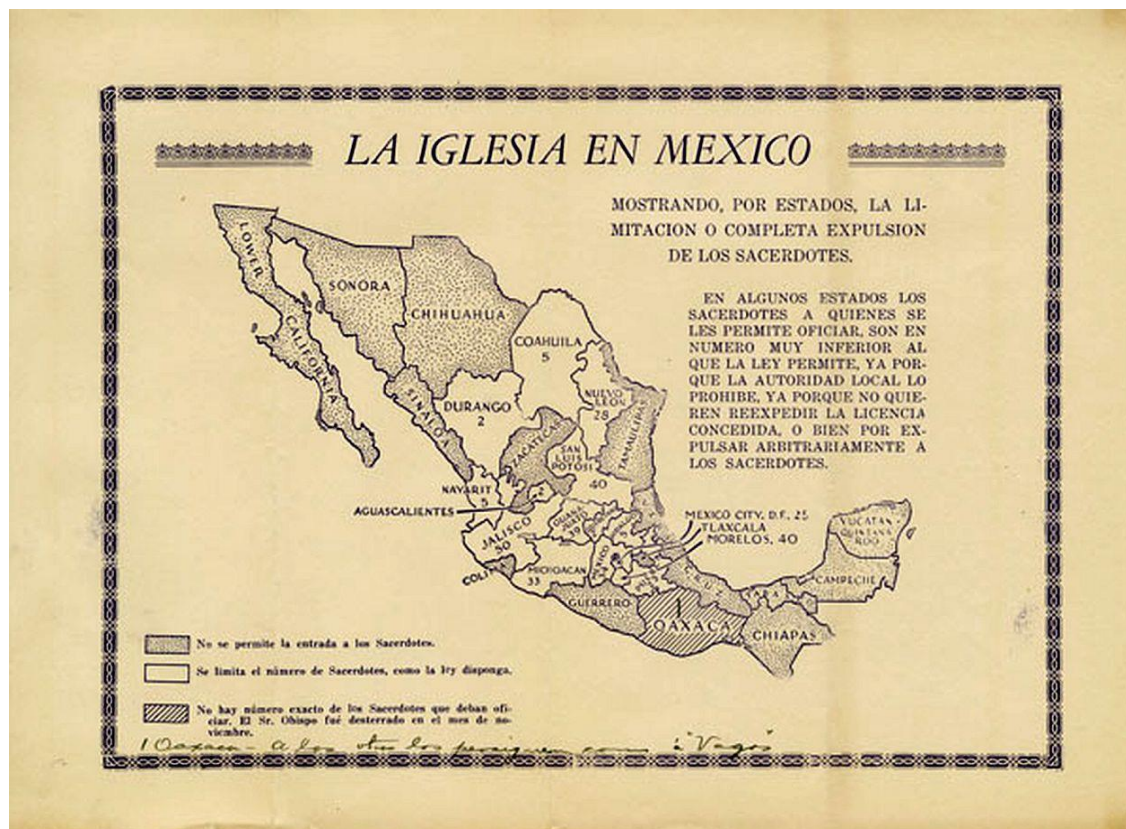
<sup>149</sup> Jane-Dale Lloyd, *Cinco ensayos sobre cultura material de rancharos y medieros del noroeste de Chihuahua, 1886-1910* (México D.F.: Universidad Iberoamericana Departamento de Historia, 2001).

<sup>150</sup> Edwin R. Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo: The Chiricahua Apaches, 1874-1886*, The civilization of the American Indian series, 268 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010).



tolerance of syncretism and local customs.<sup>151</sup> It was unacceptable that a governor or bishop in their state's far-off capital city could vanquish a beloved parish priest.<sup>152</sup>

**Figure 4 Map Showing Number of Approved Priests by State during La Segunda**



<sup>151</sup> Michael Broers, *The Napoleonic Mediterranean: Enlightenment, revolution and empire*, International library of historical studies (London: I.B. Tauris, 2017), pp. 3-4; Olivia Arrieta, 'Religion and Ritual among the Tarahumara Indians of Northern Mexico: Maintenance of Cultural Autonomy through Resistance and Transformation of Colonizing Symbols', *Wicazo Sa Review*, 8.2 (1992), pp. 11-23. The attitude of the "civilized" denizens of the cities of central Mexico and the Catholic hierarchy towards the villages and villagers of the north, especially those in the mountains of Chihuahua were reminiscent of what Broers writes about the attitudes of those on the coasts and cities of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Mediterranean toward the inhabitants of the mountains of Italy, Spain, and France in terms of their "superstition" and "heresy, born of ignorance."

<sup>152</sup> *La Iglesia en Mexico*, *De la Torre Family Papers Collection*, Special Collections Online Exhibits (UASC). University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ <https://speccoll.library.arizona.edu/online-exhibits/items/show/99>.

## Historiography

In this section of the Introduction, it is essential to differentiate between the general historiography of the 1930s in Mexico and precisely that of the Second Cristiada, with its milieu of microevents entailing violence and competition in the quest for restored customary rights and patrimony. The 1930s history of post-revolutionary change, socialist, and communist ideologies in Mexican governance, leadership, thought, and repatriation is rich and plentiful.<sup>153</sup> The study of the Maximato, or rule of the Sonoran elites in Mexico, is an ample library. So is the transition within Cardenismo, which Knight suggests might truly be the end of the revolution (1937-1938).<sup>154</sup> The study of the nationalization of the Mexican oil fields in March 1938 has received considerable attention from scholars.<sup>155</sup>

On the other hand, the Second Cristiada in general, and especially the many violent events that characterized it in Chihuahua, have received scant attention.<sup>156</sup> The significance of this thesis in

---

<sup>153</sup> Friedrich E. Schuler, *Mexico between Hitler and Roosevelt: Mexican foreign relations in the age of Lázaro Cárdenas, 1934-1940*, 1st edn (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998); Manuel Pérez Rocha, 'Socialismo y enseñanza técnica en México: 1930 - 1940', *RPD*, 9.36 (2013), 97-128; Barry Carr, 'Crisis in Mexican Communism: The Extraordinary Congress of the Mexican Communist Party', *Science & Society*, 50.4 (1986), 391-414; Balderrama and Rodriguez, *Decade of Betrayal*; Alanís Enciso, Davidson and Overmyer-Velázquez, *They Should Stay There*; U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, *INS Records for 1930s Mexican Repatriations* (Washington, DC, 2020) <<https://www.uscis.gov/about-us/our-history/history-office-and-library/featured-stories-from-the-uscis-history-office-and-library/ins-records-for-1930s-mexican-repatriations>>. This official US government page details the challenges of accurate accounting for those who left the United States to return to Mexico in the 1930s.

<sup>154</sup> Knight, 'The End of the Mexican Revolution', p. 50.

<sup>155</sup> Lorenzo Meyer, *Las raíces del nacionalismo petrolero en México*, *Tiempo de México*, 3rd edn (México, D.F.: Océano, 2009); Myrna I. Santiago, *The ecology of oil: Environment, labor, and the Mexican Revolution, 1900-1938*, *Studies in environment and history* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Santiago's book provides a history of the Mexican oil industry and the challenges of the same through the date of Cárdenas' nationalization.

<sup>156</sup> Brown, 'Mexican Church-State Relations', fn. 26, p. 208; Salvador Salinas, 'Untangling Mexico's Noodle: El Tallarin and the Revival of Zapatismo in Morelos, 1934-1938', *Journal of Latin American Studies*. Vol. 46, No. 3 (August 2014), 471-499, p. 474. Referring to the conflicts of La Segunda, Brown makes note as follows, "A few references to skirmishes during this period (1934-1937) are found in Mexico City newspapers, but it appears that the

light of what we already know from the general historiography of the period rests in the belief that it will begin the process of filling in that gap as it reveals a coherent and systematic series of conflicts in Chihuahua in the late-1920s and 1930s.<sup>157</sup>

Little attention has been given in the literature to developing a unifying schema for these events that makes sense out of the pattern that took place across the state over the decade. I seek to provide such a framework in this thesis, using the construct of lost and promised yet unfulfilled patrimony, especially for the everyday Chihuahuense.

As an initial step in the research for this thesis, it was necessary to scan the literature related to the late 1920s and early 1930s, looking behind the conflicts that characterized those years for some common theme for how to frame them. That led to a study of the various revolutionary plans, including the little-known late-period plans (the de la Huerta and Escobar rebellions) that motivated the call-to-arms for the villagers to fight. A common theme began to develop, a cry for lost heritage, rights, and unfulfilled promises that coalesced around the theme of *patrimonio* in Spanish or patrimony in English. The concept also appeared in letters and news articles. From those numerous mentions, patrimony seemed a fitting and appropriate frame to place around the La Segunda mosaic.<sup>158</sup>

---

government sought to keep publicity to a minimum.” As “skirmishes,” they were often embarrassing to the participants and not worthy of coverage or notations in the archives. Salinas describes the Second Cristiada as “understudied” and its importance as “underestimated.”

<sup>157</sup> References regarding the general history of Chihuahua, including the 1930s include: Luis Aboites Aguilar, *Breve historia de Chihuahua* (México: El Colegio de México Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1994); Florence C. Lister and Robert H. Lister, *Chihuahua Storehouse of Storms* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1966); Wasserman, *Persistent Oligarchs*; Francisco R. Almada, *Diccionario Historia, Geografía, y Biografía Chihuahuenses* (Universidad de Chihuahua Departamento de Investigaciones Sociales Sección de Historia, 1968); Francisco R. Almada, *Gobernadores del estado de Chihuahua* (la H. Cámara de Diputados, 1950).

<sup>158</sup> István Szijártó, ‘Puzzle, fractal, mosaic. Thoughts on microhistory’, *Journal of Microhistory* (2008), 1-7 <[https://www.academia.edu/389075/Puzzle\\_fractal\\_mosaic\\_Thoughts\\_on\\_microhistory\\_Journal\\_of\\_Microhistory\\_2008?auto=download](https://www.academia.edu/389075/Puzzle_fractal_mosaic_Thoughts_on_microhistory_Journal_of_Microhistory_2008?auto=download)>, pp. 1-4). Throughout the introduction and early chapters of this thesis I refer to La Segunda as either a mosaic, a jigsaw puzzle, or a tapestry. I did so prior to reading Hungarian historian Szijártó, who uses similar metaphors to refer to the nature of those events. To the mosaic and puzzle, he adds the fractal.

In the case of this thesis, the theme that is suggested is that of the struggle for lost patrimony. It appears from my study that the outcome of that struggle was largely unsuccessful. I would suggest that history is the study of some aspect (within limits) of the narrative of humanity. In that context, this thesis examines one aspect of the narrative of those who struggled in northern Mexico in the 1930s to recapture their lost patrimonial inheritance.

The limitations of the thesis are the result of two factors. First, there is a dearth of primary sources regarding the specific details of the series of conflicts. Over time, in a sense, small yet regular acts of violence, despite their forming a pattern of conflict, became less worthy of comment.

This was true for several factors. Chihuahua had very few local newspapers to cover such events. *El Correo*, a widely read newspaper in Chihuahua was shut down by the government in the mid-1930s. Visits to a number of municipal and state archives reveal that neither municipalities nor ejidos in Chihuahua kept records of these types of events. As microevents, they do not seem to have been worthy of records in federal sources, except in agrarian and water archives. The events live on in the memories of local cronistas and descendants of the participants. While these are not always unbiased or accurate as to the details, they are a valuable source of information for the historian who uses them in a judicious manner.

Second, a strongly polemic tone became evident in the memories of those who survived, including how they and their descendants analyzed these developments. Third, there are very uneven archival and memoir records of the events. In opposition to what is found about grand events staged by thousands of competitors with great ideologies, these were microevents in which there was no glory and, at times, little justification for the participation of either side. Therefore, it was to no one's advantage to maintain records of the same. The historian has access to plenty of

raw information about the time period in terms of climate, resource, and economic data.<sup>159</sup> Specific information about the events of this decade is a different matter. While it is certain that the events happened, why, precisely who was involved, and even the exact location where they occurred more often than not remains uncertain.

Whether religious, agrarian, or ideological, a passionate sense of righteous indignation and victimhood is seen in the writings and recollections of those who remember and comment. As will be noted, from various perspectives, this thesis deals with a form of “sacred history.”<sup>160</sup> This personal dimension exacerbated the intimate and polemical memories of the nature of the violence for both those who participated, remembered, and studied those participants and memories.

### **The Specific Study of La Segunda**

In a lengthy blog on the Cristero movement, Julia Young succinctly summed up her thoughts about The Second Cristero War, ‘Although there were sporadic uprisings in the 1930s (known collectively as ‘*La Segunda Cristiada*’), they did not amount to a widespread rebellion.’<sup>161</sup> Consuelo Moreno uses the term “the **so-called** La Segunda uprising (emphasis mine)” to refer to this thesis’s series of disparate events.<sup>162</sup> In the first chapter of a book they edited, Rugeley and Fallaw use the

---

<sup>159</sup> For examples, see Simpson, *The Ejido: Mexico's Way Out*; Nathan L. Whetten, *Rural Mexico* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948).

<sup>160</sup> Hugh B. Urban and Greg Johnson (eds), *Irreverence and the sacred: Critical studies in the history of religions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019). This book provides excellent insights into the nature and challenges of studying sacred history.

<sup>161</sup> Julia G. Young, ‘*The Revolution is Afraid: Cristeros and Sinarquistas in Mexico and the United States, 1926–1950.*’ (Berkley Forum), <<https://berkeleycenter.georgetown.edu/responses/the-revolution-is-afraid-cristeros-and-sinarquistas-in-mexico-and-the-united-states-1926-1950>>.

<sup>162</sup> Consuelo S. Moreno, ‘The Movement that Sinned Twice: The Cristero War and Mexican Collective Memory’, 13 (2020), 1–32 <<https://scholarworks.lib.csusb.edu/history-in-the-making/vol13/iss1/5>>.

same term in a slightly different context when referring to one of the missions of the Mexican army as fighting “the so-called Segundos of the second Cristero conflict of the 1930s.”<sup>163</sup>

I hope to bring focus to, and in so doing, offer a possible framework constructed out of a specific series of differences, struggles, threats, and organized violence in 1930s Chihuahua.<sup>164</sup> Readers may then conclude whether the appellation La Segunda Cristiada, most likely originally granted these events by Jean Meyer, is appropriate.<sup>165</sup>

Historians who have used the term La Segunda or The Second Cristiada to describe the turmoil of the 1930s include the previously noted and cited Jean Meyer, Julia Young, Consuelo Moreno, Ben Fallaw and Terry Rugeley. In addition, Mark Lawrence, Adrian Bantjes, Alan Knight, Gladys McCormick, Nathaniel Morris, and in his massive doctoral thesis, Antonio Avitia Hernández have utilized the term in their writings.<sup>166</sup> In his thesis, Hernández provides significant detail about

---

<sup>163</sup> Terry Rugeley and Ben Fallaw, ‘The Challenges of Scholarship on the Mexican Military Experience’, in *Forced Marches: Soldiers and Military Caciques in Modern Mexico*, ed. by Ben Fallaw and Terry Rugeley (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012), 1–22 (p. 10).

<sup>164</sup> For a focused study of violence in northern Chihuahua, see Brandon Morgan, ‘Columbus, New Mexico, and Palomas, Chihuahua: Transnational Landscapes of Violence, 1888-1930’ (Dissertation, University of New Mexico, 2013). Morgan presents the concept of structural violence, that which is built into the landscape, system, government, day to day norms, and often goes unrecorded, perhaps even unnoticed.

<sup>165</sup> I have been unable to find any earlier references to La Segunda Cristiada than those in the voluminous writings of historian Jean Meyer. This may provide the earliest date of around 1973 for the use of the term in either academic or popularized literature.

<sup>166</sup> Lawrence, *Insurgency, counter-insurgency and policing*, pp. 80, 133, 140-145; Bantjes, *As if Jesus Walked on Earth*, pp. 48-50, 84; Knight, ‘The End of the Mexican Revolution’, p. 60; Alan Knight, ‘Cardenismo: Juggernaut or Jalopy?’, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 26.1 (1994), 73–107 (p. 91, 100); Gladys McCormick, ‘The Forgotten Jaramillo: Building a Social Base of Support for Authoritarianism in Rural Mexico’, in *Dictablanda*, ed. by Gillingham and Smith, pp. 196–215 (p. 211); Morris, *Soldiers, Saints, and Shamans*, pp. 214-262; Antonio Avitia Hernández, ‘La narrativa de las Cristiadas: novela, cuento, teatro, cine y corrido de las Rebeliones Cristeras’ (Disertación, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, 2006). Lawrence refers to “the second Cristero rebellion,” “the ‘Segunda of 1935, and La Segunda;” Bantjes refers to the Second Cristiada in Sonora as the “mini-Cristiada and as “the Sonoran Cristiada.” He further refers to “a series of rebellions collectively known as the Second Cristiada.” In the first Knight citation listed above (p. 60), it must be noted that he uses quotes around the word “second.” He also indicated that it was “bound to fail.” In the second Knight reference listed above (p. 91), he says, “The ‘Second Cristiada’ was small beer compared to the great insurrection of 1926-1929.” The third Knight mention of La Segunda in this same article (p. 100), simply states, “The Church hierarchy never enthusiastically supportive of the Cristero rebels, welcomed the détente of 1929 and gave little aid or comfort to the Second Cristiada.” There are no quotation marks around this mention. McCormick uses the term “violent Cristiadas” as existing “before 1940 in rural Mexico.” Nathaniel Morris has written a thorough analysis of “the second cristiada” in Nayarit and portions of Jalisco and Durango. He focuses

La Segunda.<sup>167</sup> Enrique Guerra Manzo has also written an excellent study of the Second Cristiada (by name) in the state of Michoacán.<sup>168</sup>

Perhaps the single volume that provides the most depth of insight into La Segunda as a church-state conflict across at least four states (Hidalgo, Guerrero, Campeche, and Guanajuato, with mentions of many others) is the aforementioned *Religion and State Formation in Postrevolutionary Mexico* by Ben Fallaw.<sup>169</sup> This carefully researched work presents a thorough review of church-state conflicts across these states and leads to the author's conclusion that "Instead of marginalizing Catholics politically, the renewed anticlerical campaign of the early 1930s antagonized and ultimately empowered them."<sup>170</sup> The work is a key contribution to the historiography of La Segunda. It also informs much of what I am striving to accomplish in this thesis.

Chihuahua garners no mention in Fallaw's volume. I say this not to find any fault, but to point perhaps to the uniqueness, nature, and opportunity for study of the 1930's conflicts in the state that is our focus. At the same time, his work provides a great opportunity to note the similarities and differences between the nature of the conflicts in 1930s Chihuahua and those in at least four other Mexican states as mentioned above.

The term Cristiada carries with it significant religious overtones. Hence, in Chihuahua, it may not be the best term to describe a series of conflicts that prioritized significant struggles over

---

heavily on the Indigenous involvement in that Gran Nayar region. The Avitia Hernández massive 879 page doctoral thesis is a study of various narratives about the two Cristiadas published in literary, cinematic, dramatic, and art forms.

<sup>167</sup> Avitia Hernández, Antonio, 'La narrativa de las Cristiadas', pp. 821-822. While he discusses various causes of La Segunda in Mexico, he focuses on the religious fighting, especially that involving formal movement of soldiers. Most of the twenty-two mentions of Chihuahua in his thesis focus on the fighting in 1892 in Tomóchi, the Escobar revolt, and the curious situation of Padre J. Andrés Lara S.J. during that same revolt. He does not mention Chihuahua in his list of states that had Catholic foot-soldiers during La Segunda (p. 139).

<sup>168</sup> Enrique Guerra Manzo, 'El Fuego Sagrado: La Segunda Cristiada y el Caso de Michoacán (1931-1938)', *Historia Mexicana*, 55.2 (2005), 513-575.

<sup>169</sup> Fallaw, *Religion and State Formation*.

<sup>170</sup> Fallaw, *Religion and State Formation*, p. 219.

natural resources, sectarian ideologies, outsider issues, economic disparities, and competition for power and political influence. One of the goals of this thesis is to determine whether or not specifically religious violence played a significant enough role in the disparate conflicts across Chihuahua to warrant the use of such a religious term to characterize them. An intensive study of the conflicts reveals a more complicated mosaic than the religious alone. Of course, the Introduction is far too early to offer any summaries or conclusions.

Historiography in a Mexican context has developed over the years from a reductionist perspective that often reflected, at its core, the individual historian's perspectives, biases, and support of a particular actor, decision, group, or event. Mexican historiography has evolved into studies of hitherto ignored or hidden contexts such as gender, culture, regional/local, and even individual events in the last thirty years.<sup>171</sup>

Beginning around 1960, historians were celebrating the evolution of the study of Mexican history from a political and spiritual focus to a more secular non-ideological perspective. That which, on the surface, dealt with church/state conflict and competition could, in all likelihood, be more about the desire for power, control, influence, and patrimony, inclusive of land and water conflicts, banditry, and retribution. Lawrence uses especially strong language in noting some deem La Segunda as a "wave of brigandage."<sup>172</sup>

Guillermo Zermeño, in his valuable work on Mexican historiography, characterizes Robert Potash in 1960 as "being glad that in a country like Mexico, history conditioned by a party or

---

<sup>171</sup> Alan Knight, 'Patterns and Prescriptions in Mexican Historiography', *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 25.3 (2006), 340–366. Knight surveys the swings in the historiographical tendencies including the regional studies movement that he notes began in the 1960s.

<sup>172</sup> For examples, see Lawrence, *Insurgency, counter-insurgency and policing*, pp. 80, 133, 140-145; Boyer, *Becoming Campesinos*, pp. 154-187, 221; López, *Los Cristeros en Sinaloa*, pp. 46-61; Morris, *Soldiers, Saints, and Shamans*, pp. 121-175, 214-262; Jennie Purnell, *Popular movements and state formation in revolutionary Mexico: The agraristas and cristeros of Michoacán* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1999).



religious spirit, had been overcome and is now dominated by objective and neutral history.”<sup>173</sup> While this movement away from the polemics often found in revolutionary Mexican history to a more objective and neutral direction should be encouraged, one needs to realize that historiography, even when it changes, is likely to do so slowly, with missteps and reflecting then-prevalent constructs.

This thesis focuses on and studies events of the 1930s. The purpose of studying events is not limited to the event's details but also serves to answer the question of how a particular event may provide a better understanding of the culture surrounding it.<sup>174</sup> John Sherman gives us an example and frank appraisal when he comments, “The earlier historiographical school’s apparent contradiction between Cárdenas’s popularity and the 1940 election opposition is resolved: he was not particularly popular.” In the same paragraph, he bluntly informs us, “Culturally, “the revolutionary ‘new man’ did not materialize.”<sup>175</sup>

I include the quote above because it speaks directly to the reality that the move by revolutionary elites to create a new man with new values, ideas, and perspectives in late-revolutionary Mexico had little chance of success, especially in the north.<sup>176</sup> The ties to and clarity of the focus on what they believed to be their rightful but unrealized patrimony on a quotidian basis were powerful motivating and restraining forces in the life of everyday Mexicans.

---

<sup>173</sup> Robert Potash, ‘Historiografía del México independiente’, *Historia Mexicana [En línea]*, 10.3 (1961), 395–396 in Guillermo Zermeño, ‘La Historiografía en México: un Balance (1940-2010)’, *Historia Mexicana*, 4.248 (2013), 1695–1742 (p. 1715).

<sup>174</sup> Burke writes about the importance of studying events to better understand the culture in which they took place. Peter Burke, ‘History of Events and the Revival of Narrative’, in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. by Peter Burke (University Park Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), pp. 233–248.

<sup>175</sup> Sherman, *The Mexican Right*, p. 134. Sherman’s book is a hidden gem in the historiography of right-wing movements in post-revolutionary Mexico. His concept of the “new revolutionary man” may be a direct derivative of the concept of the “new man” as found in writings of Leon Trotsky (who spent his last years living in exile in Mexico). See Leon Trotsky, *Literature and Revolution: Chapter 8 - Revolutionary and Socialist Art* (2007) <[https://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1924/lit\\_revo/ch08.htm](https://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1924/lit_revo/ch08.htm)>.

<sup>176</sup> Boyer, *Becoming Campesinos*, pp. 38-39.

Whatever the external forces acting on the northerners to create something new, if they (the forces) were not familiar, reassuring, and part of their spoken or quietly understood heritage, they would inevitably be rejected. There is a distinction between looking for something different and appreciating something “new.”<sup>177</sup> The former might be considered by the pueblo (people). The latter, a 1930s-era “socialist” or sex-ed curriculum for their children, for example, was likely to be rejected.<sup>178</sup>

Late-revolutionary Mexicans wanted the positive changes promised by the Revolution together with the older securities of family, faith, and *costumbres* (the customary and expected). For example, the Protestants who had the most success in conversions among the campesino were those like the Pentecostals who successfully linked the new with the old—the evangelist successfully aligned the charismatic Pentecostal healer with the *curandero* (local healers who combined spiritual, somatic, and psychological cures). Pentecostal theophanies and hierophanies were familiar to those who knew well the stories of La Llorona, the angels who appeared on white horses to aid the Cristeros and the Sonoran stories of the *Santos* (small wooden statues taken from a church or home altar) who came to life and ran away from those who sought to destroy them.<sup>179</sup>

---

<sup>177</sup> Bantjes, *As if Jesus Walked on Earth*, pp. 7-8. Bantjes provides a brief, yet insightful series of comments on the concept of the “new men” in 1920s and 1930s Mexico.

<sup>178</sup> Whetten, *Rural Mexico*, p. 371. Sociologist Whetten offers an excellent analysis of the challenge, especially in education of teaching Mexican students new and differing concepts when the very same would be rejected by parents as soon as the students arrived home. Nathan Whetten was born in Chihuahua in the Mormon colonies. He again lived in Mexico in the late 1930s and early 1940s compiling data and analyzing rural Mexican culture for the United States Department of State and the federal Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations. This book is a six-hundred seventy-one page report of those data and analyses.

<sup>179</sup>For insight into the Pentecostal success in Latin America and Mexico, see Miguez Bonino, *Faces of Latin American Protestantism*, pp. 54-70; James Penton, ‘Mexico’s Reformation: A History of Mexican Protestantism from its Inception to the Present.’ (PhD Dissertation, University of Iowa, 1965), pp. 240-270; Kurt Bowen, *Evangelism and Apostasy: The Evolution and Impact of Evangelicals in Modern Mexico*, McGill-Queen’s studies in the history of religion, 23 (Montreal Que.: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1996), pp. 41-43, 67-71, 184-193, 202-209; Arlene M. Sánchez-Walsh, *Latino Pentecostal Identity: Evangelical faith, self, and society*, Religion and American Culture (New York, Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2003). Pentecostal growth in Mexico has occurred at a rapid rate. Accurate statistics of the same are challenging to find because it is a movement, more than a denomination.

The religious nature of the conflict between church and state that formed the foundation of the Cristero conflicts cannot help but characterize itself in the minds of the faithful as “sacred history.” The same has also become, to later more “modern” generations, a kind of cultural folklore. I would add a perspective that those same conflicts were for the purpose of recapturing patrimony, a lost and intimate inheritance.<sup>180</sup> As early as 1978, Bailey spoke of the “mound of polemic written by Catholics.”<sup>181</sup> However, as a building is more than its foundation, so are the conflicts inherent in these struggles greater than that which resides below the surface. The historian who either overlooks the religious or strictly casts the Cristiadas in sacred terms errs on both accounts.

When viewed as sacred history, writing about events like the Cristero War may include the possibility that the account becomes polemic, as noted by Bailey, or even more extreme, apologetic in its perspective. We see this in some interpretations and analyses of the Cristeros and later Mennonite and Mormon conflicts.<sup>182</sup> Revealing fault lines in the history of one’s faith is, at times, at least uncomfortable if not discouraged or forbidden. That is one of the significant challenges in the study of sacred history. A further challenge in the study of sacred history is that stories are told that are very personal, related in almost hushed tones with implied if not outright requests for secrecy or anonymity.

---

<sup>180</sup> Contreras Orozco, *El mártir de Chihuahua*, p. 8. Contreras, a professor at the University of Chihuahua (UACH) makes the following important observation about the aftermath of the Mexican revolution: “And upon the triumph of the armed movement, a group of generals, feeling that they had the right to the patrimony of all the people, took over the government, turning it into the supreme government, and therefore masters and lords of the destiny of the nation”.

<sup>181</sup> David C. Bailey, ‘Revisionism and the Recent Historiography of the Mexican Revolution’, *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 58.1 (1978), 62-79 (p. 68).

<sup>182</sup> An example of this is found in the writings of two faithful US Catholics, Bishop Francis Clement Kelly of Oklahoma City and Wilfrid Parsons, S.J. Their works include blistering portrayals of the Mexican government, Protestants, and Masons during and following the Cristero period into the 1930s. See Francis Kelly, *Blood-Drenched Altars: A Catholic Commentary on the History of Mexico* (Dublin (original edition): TAN Books, 1989 (Reprint of 1935 original edition)); Parsons, Wilfrid, S.J., *Mexican Martyrdom* (Rockford, Illinois: Tan Books and Publishers, 1936). Parsons’s book is contemporary to the Cristiadas, having been written from his personal observations of Mexico in the 1930s. At times, his polemic tone diminishes the value of his first-hand observations.

In the thirty oral interviews I conducted, I was repeatedly faced with these situations. More often than not, written and verbal accounts of the same event varied in their details. There were times, ten in total, that I could not confirm from multiple sources the historicity of the stories being shared in the interviews or they simply were not relevant to my study. Those do not appear in this thesis. When confirmed, I have done my best to conform to the requests of the informant or interviewee, including one request for anonymity. These interviews included stories about religious and political leaders, as well as family members, the memory of whom might be compromised by some unconscious bias. There were occasional concerns about, or perceived danger of physical harm to the informants, even when information was from almost one-hundred years ago. The majority of the interviews were conducted in person. One was conducted via WhatsApp. Appointments were most often made by email, phone, or WhatsApp.

Are the described events as told in the interviews, factual history or local myths learned by the community and carefully kept quiet for years? I can't answer that with any certainty, but they do tell us about local mores, loyalties, secrets, and silence. Such is a part of the shared culture of small Chihuahuense communities.<sup>183</sup> I used my skills, experience, and training in discerning the content of each interview.

---

<sup>183</sup> John B Keane, *The Field* (Cork: Mercier Press, 1991), p. 75. It may be useful to note that the types of small and very violent encounters over land rights and ownership encountered in my interviews were not unique to either Chihuahua or Mexico. There is a marked similarity between the cases researched and a semi-fictional account featured in John B Keane's play "The Field" set in mid-twentieth century Ireland. In the play, a potential English buyer of a plot of land in Ireland is brutally killed by a lessor of the plot and his son, who believe that, by their rights it should be their land (patrimony). The community gathers around the murderer. Silence is the result. At one point, the local Catholic bishop delivers a public sermon to shame the locals into telling what they know about the crime. His message might just as easily have been preached in 1930s Chihuahua. In part he says, "This is a parish in which you understand hunger. . . . There is a hunger for home, for love, for children. . . . But there is also the hunger for land. And in this parish, you, and your fathers before you knew what it was to starve because you did not own your own land. . . . But how far are you prepared to go to satisfy this hunger. . . ? Are you prepared to go to the point of murder? Are you prepared to kill for land? Was this man killed for land? Did he give his life's blood for a field? If so, that field will be a field of blood and it will be paid for in thirty pieces of silver – the price of Christ's betrayal – and you, by your silence will share in that betrayal." In the end, no one in the village betrayed the murderers.

There also appear to be unwritten rules when speaking about one's family or village. Historians specializing in using oral interviews as a historical source may face similar hesitations. Peniston-Bird writes about the "tellingness of silence."<sup>184</sup> These silences may inform the interviewer in the same way as words. For this thesis, one local ejido leader refused to speak with me in the ejido office. We met in a local restaurant. Afterwards, he left me written documentation in a veterinarian's office between the dog food and bird seed. There, he felt comfortable it would be personally and securely handed over to me. The ability to confirm events from a second source, such as a newspaper account, was vital in choosing which events to include in the thesis.

Because archival resources are scarce for many of the micro-events I am studying, these oral interviews and site visitations are vital for this thesis. Also, due to the sensitive nature of some of the information I am asking, I am readily confronted with the moments of silence about which Peniston-Bird speaks. As an Anglo historian, I have certain limitations in a Mexican culture. As a non-member dealing with LDS history, I also have a degree of liminality in those relationships. Even with Mennonite interviews, I am not the "same kind" of Mennonite as the Old Colony people/folk here in Mexico. Although I have lived in Chihuahua for years, I still face my task as somewhat of an outsider.

Pioneering historian of the sacred, Mircea Eliade framed it in the context that those chronicled in modern sacred history often lived in two worlds, one in a "sacralized cosmos" and the other in a "desacralized cosmos." The distinctions separating the two were not difficult to determine by understanding the two different worlds in which each lived.<sup>185</sup> In situations that will

---

<sup>184</sup> Corinna M. Peniston-Bird, 'Oral History: the sound of memory', in *History Beyond the Text: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources*, ed. by Barber, Sarah; Peniston-Bird, Corinna (Taylor & Francis Group, 2009), 105-121 (p. 108).

<sup>185</sup> Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* (Orlando, FL: A Harvest Book - Harcourt, Inc, 1987), p. 17.

be analyzed, like the Third Convention episode between Anglo and mestizo Mormons, both lived in a space easily defined as a sacralized cosmos.<sup>186</sup> In those cases, we need to draw on other realities, for example, race and nationalism, to understand the differences between the parties.

Disciplined historians do not set aside their beliefs but are aware of how they influence their interpretation of the past. The ever-elusive goal of objectivity comes into play in this regard. The delightfully irreverent Alan Knight said of this impossible dream, “Objectivity, like virtue, salvation, or nirvana, is something we should strive for, even if we know it is beyond our reach. Getting closer is what matters.”<sup>187</sup> Getting close is indeed a worthy goal.<sup>188</sup>

More than a century ago, historical writing was divided into that which was either like a map or a painted landscape.<sup>189</sup> In this context, my thoughts go to the magnificent sea charts of 17<sup>th</sup>-century Dutch cartographer Frederick de Wit. These contain both maps (analysis) and landscapes (narration elements).<sup>190</sup> An effective thesis will also include both, especially one that deals with differing and little-known events such as those of La Segunda Cristiada.

The historian may go too far in incorporating his beliefs in his writing when he approaches his subject, as Lucas Alamán is sometimes criticized for doing, “with the zeal and fire of a missionary . . . who stands alone, like a voice in the wilderness, to proclaim the truth about Mexico, to correct public opinion and chart a new course for the ship of state, in the hope there is still time to save it

---

<sup>186</sup> Michael Quinn (ed.), *The New Mormon History: Revisionist Essays on the Past* (Salt Lake City Utah: Signature Books, 1992). This book reveals the challenges of doing what has been deemed “New Mormon History.” It serves as a model for the challenges of writing sacred history as a faithful member of a hierarchical faith group.

<sup>187</sup> Knight, ‘Patterns and Prescriptions’, p. 343.

<sup>188</sup> Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "objectivity question" and the American historical profession*, Ideas in context (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

<sup>189</sup> Both this concept and an analysis of it are found in Mark Phillips, ‘The Revival of Narrative: Thoughts on a Current Historiographical Debate’, *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 53.2, 149–165.

<sup>190</sup> Geographicus Rare Antique Maps, *Wit, Frederik de (1629-1706)*  
<[https://www.geographicus.com/P/ctgy&Category\\_Code=dewit](https://www.geographicus.com/P/ctgy&Category_Code=dewit)>.

from sinking into chaos.”<sup>191</sup> The history of the first Cristero war has been well-studied. Historians vary in their emphasis and priority on its myriad complex causal forces. That is as it should be. Both the theologian and historian would be wise to approach their disciplines with humility and a keen sense of the uncertainty over certainty.<sup>192</sup>

Knight indicates that he determines historiographical quality based on three principal criteria: correct, clear, and original historiography.<sup>193</sup> Knowing that these three criteria are somewhat subjective, I strive for all three in my writing. It is up to the reader to determine if I have succeeded.

As previously noted, a careful review of academic writings about *La Segunda* or the Segunda Cristiada reveals a dearth of content. The literature, especially the history of *La Segunda* in Chihuahua certainly has room and need for a thesis focusing on its disparate and complex nature and events. In many chronologies, the Mexican Revolution ended in 1920 with the presidency of Álvaro Obregón. This chronology negates the connection, whether pro or anti-revolutionary, between Cristeros, progressives, socialists, agrarians, political factions, other ideologues, and old-time revolutionary thinkers who continued the quest for *la revolución* even into the 1950s.<sup>194</sup>

Freemasonry, Protestantism, and other “liberal” movements, including the government, rivaled the Catholic Church, especially in its emerging social programs. They were competitors to define and fulfill the goals of the revolution. Anticlericalism, iconoclasm, and liberal ideologies, in

---

<sup>191</sup> Luis Martin, ‘Lucas Alamán Pioneer of Mexican Historiography: An Interpretative Essay’, *The Americas*, 32.2, 239–256 (p. 242); Moisés González Navarro, *El pensamiento político de Lucas Alamán* (México d.f.: El Colegio de México Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1952).

<sup>192</sup> Meyer, 2004, n.p. This brief monograph, published by Jean Meyer thirty years after writing his doctoral thesis, is replete with examples of when he felt his sources perhaps had exhibited too much ‘fervor, enthusiasm, and certainty.’ *Pro Domo* is an important and rather rare retrospect that is worthy of reading by historians. The lack of pagination in the document makes it difficult to specifically identify his use of these terms.

<sup>193</sup> Knight, ‘Patterns and Prescriptions’, p. 342.

<sup>194</sup> For a discussion of the various theories regarding the length of the Mexican Revolution, see Knight, ‘The End of the Mexican Revolution’.

general, all claimed strong ties to the Revolution and its unmet goals. However, they were indeed treated more like enemies than competitors.<sup>195</sup>

The Cristero War of the 1920s and its impact on societal changes are well-studied and documented. However, by the end of the 1920s, many revolutionary aspirations remained unfulfilled. The land issue was still preeminent in the minds of the people.<sup>196</sup> The church-state conflict was only mollified; it was not resolved. The implementation of educational, social, and economic changes was incomplete. The federal government had just created a nationalized department, the Secretaría de Educación Pública (SEP), to oversee educational change in the country in 1921.<sup>197</sup> While its goals were noble, to eliminate illiteracy in the country, its methods were far from in line with most of the population, especially in rural areas. The status quo was not adequately protected for those who painted with a conservative palette. Change was their enemy, especially that of a 'radical' or 'new' nature. For progressives, change had not come fast enough. The decade of the 1930s was the perfect storm between the perspectives of these two disparate viewpoints.

While the decade of the 1930s in Mexico has received excellent coverage as a historical period, the specific framework of *La Segunda Cristiada* has not received anywhere near the academic or popular attention as has its predecessor, *La Cristiada* (the initial Cristero period). For

---

<sup>195</sup> Savarino Roggero, *El Conflicto Religioso en Chihuahua*, pp. 13, 14. The concept of being rivals, yet not enemies in competition to fulfill the goals of the Mexican Revolution is explored in this book. At the same time, he identifies Freemasonry as a primary source of anticlericalism and enemy of the Church, identifying someone as anticlerical with no more basis than stating that the person was a Mason.

<sup>196</sup> An early, but still relevant book on the agrarian revolution in pre and post-revolutionary Mexico is Frank Tannenbaum, *The Mexican Agrarian Revolution* (New York: Macmillan, 1929). Tannenbaum lived in Mexico during the early years of *La Segunda* as an agricultural affairs advisor to President Lázaro Cárdenas. He brings insights from that unique position into his writings.

<sup>197</sup> Ernesto Meneses Morales, *Tendencias Educativas Oficiales en México 1911-1934: La Problemática de la Educación Mexicana durante la Revolución y los Primeros Lustrros de la Época Posrevolucionaria* (México DF: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2002), p. 180.



example, in Meyer's pioneering three-volume history of *La Cristiada*, he wrote 1,101 pages of text. Of that, only thirty pages focused on *La Segunda Cristiada*.<sup>198</sup>

J. Lloyd Meacham, in his influential overview, *Church and State in Latin America*, takes ten pages to explain the Cristero tensions between the Catholic Church and the Mexican government. While highlighting challenges to maintaining peace under the *Modus Vivendi*, he never mentions the renewal of conflict that became the Second Cristiada.<sup>199</sup> He wrote approximately seven years before Jean Meyer's *Cristiada*.

Alicia Olivera Sedano's highly regarded book *Aspectos del Conflicto Religioso de 1926 a 1929: Sus Antecedentes y Consecuencias* begins with examining the antecedents of the Cristero conflict in 1891. She acknowledges 'recalcitrants' among the Cristeros, who did not support the *Modus Vivendi* terms. However, it is not until the book's last sentence that she acknowledges the fighting did not end until after President Lázaro Cárdenas's government and President Avila Camacho's gestures (most likely referring to his famous 'Soy Creyente' speech of 1940).<sup>200</sup>

It is essential to draw attention to important comments made in 1973 by Cristero researcher Jean Meyer towards the conclusion of the first volume in his tripartite history of *La Cristiada*.<sup>201</sup> It may be the first time in written historical records that a reference is made to "la Segunda," referring to the renewal of armed conflicts in Mexico in 1932.<sup>202</sup> More importantly, Meyer

---

<sup>198</sup> Meyer, *La Cristiada I*, pp. 353-383.

<sup>199</sup> J. L. Meacham, *Church and State in Latin America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1966), pp. 404-411.

<sup>200</sup> Alicia Olivera Sedano, *Aspectos del Conflicto Religioso de 1926 a 1929: Sus Antecedentes y Consecuencias* (México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1966), p. 277. Vaca, *Los silencios de la historia*, p. 51.

<sup>201</sup> Meyer, *La Cristiada I*, pp. 363-367.

<sup>202</sup> Antonio Avitia Hernández, *First use of "La Segunda Cristiada" in the Literature of the 1930s*, Philip R. Stover (México City, 2023). In an email communication with Mexican historian Antonio Avitia Hernández, author of the prologue in the sixth edition of the novel *Rescoldo*, he indicated that he thought the first usage of the term "La Segunda Cristiada" in Mexican historical literature was by historian Alfonso Taracena in one of his nineteen volumes of the history of the Mexican Revolution - Alfonso Taracena, *La verdadera historia de la revolución Mexicana*, 20 vols. (México DF: Librería Porrúa, From 1960 to 1992). If he is correct, then Taracena's use of the term may have preceded that of Jean Meyer.

refers to this second conflict as a “hecatomb,” referring to the ritual sacrifice or slaughter of one hundred cattle by the Romans and Greeks. The term also had a secondary meaning – “the sacrifice or slaughter of many victims.”<sup>203</sup> He deems this renewal of fighting *un combate sin esperanza* – a combat without hope. Such may have been the earliest characterization of the series of disparate events and conflicts we know as *La Segunda*.<sup>204</sup>

In terms of the naming of this series of conflicts, my research has revealed one other interesting appellation besides that of *La Segunda*, Hecatomb, and Rescoldo. In a monograph on the conflicts in Veracruz, García Valladores refers to a use of the term “Albérchigo” as a moniker for the conflicts.<sup>205</sup> Albérchigo refers to the late fruit of the peach family that ripens after the other fruit or little, if at all. It is used as a cull fruit and its low quality and flavor require it to be sold for use as juice.<sup>206</sup> I find it an insightful term to use for this “late” series of conflicts in the 1930s, one that certainly did not have the “flavor” of the Cristero War or First Cristiada.

*La Cristiada* resists the historian’s easy organization into a coherent whole because it was a disparate series of conflicts, events, disagreements, and debates over a broad swath of Mexican territory for more than half a decade. It was a jigsaw puzzle without a box top with a picture of the whole.<sup>207</sup>

---

<sup>203</sup> *Hecatomb* <<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/hecatomb>>.

<sup>204</sup> Meyer, *La Cristiada I*, p. 367.

<sup>205</sup> Miguel E. García Valladares, ‘Desfanatización e iconoclasia, la quema de santos de Tlapacoyan, Veracruz, de 1931’, *Signos históricos*, XX.40 (2018), 232-261 <[file:///E:/Defanaticization\\_and\\_iconoclasm\\_the\\_burning\\_of\\_sai.pdf](file:///E:/Defanaticization_and_iconoclasm_the_burning_of_sai.pdf)>. García footnotes the use of the word “albérchigo” as coming from Jean Meyer’s volume I of the 1973 edition of *La Cristiada*, pp. 367-368. I have been unable to confirm Meyer’s use of the word in this specific writing. However, I found Meyer’s use of the word in a footnote in the following work of his: Jean Meyer, *The Cristero Rebellion: The Mexican People between Church and States 1926-1929* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 240 fn. 6.

<sup>206</sup> Kenneth Farnsworth, This personal communication was initiated by me to Kenneth Farnsworth, the general manager of the Paquimé Company, a large fruit packing company in northern Mexico. Colonia Juárez 2023. He has decades of experience with all sorts of agricultural fruit production.

<sup>207</sup> I am indebted to Richard J. Evans for the history as a jigsaw puzzle metaphor. Richard J. Evans, *In Defense of History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2000), p. 77. My task in this thesis is to determine whether the disparate

The conflict, tension, and competition of the 1930s were pivotal to bringing the nation to a more complete resolution of unresolved issues. The Mexican Revolution, inclusive of both *Cristiadas*, was exhilarating for some and exhausting for all. The bold yet short-term changes of President Lázaro Cárdenas, together with his successor as president, Manuel Ávila Camacho's calming influence, contributed to a form of closure for many. Thus, as previously said, I take a long view of the Mexican Revolution, beginning in the early 1890s with local rebellions such as that at Tomóchi, Chihuahua, and ending with this closure in 1940.<sup>208</sup>

By the late 1930s, the Catholic Church, especially the hierarchy, was ready for change; it had survived the fires. It had a renewed and recharged sense of spiritual responsibility and social accountability.<sup>209</sup> Local clerics, often of foreign birth, were caught unprepared between their hierarchy's desire to create new programs and methods and the local needs of their resident parishioners.

The government was exhausted yet, ready to open the land to an expansion of the *ejido's* (a Hispanic form of communal property management) promised hope. At the decade's end, labor and pro-education groups adopted less strident platforms than they had in the early 1930s. Mexico was changing, and World War II was on the horizon. It would prove a catalyst for a different kind of late-revolutionary change.

---

conflicts can be connected to confirm that La Segunda did exist as a historically coherent series of events. I appreciate Evans' discussion (p. 116) of Theodore Zeldin's concept of *pointilliste* methodology. See Theodore Zeldin, 'Social History and Total History', *Journal of Social History*, 10.2 (1976), 237–245.

<sup>208</sup> Vanderwood, *The Power of God*. This book provides an important summary of local revolutions across Chihuahua in the early 1890s, including an extensive interpretation of the Tomóchi conflicts in 1892. Meyer, *The Cristero Rebellion*, p. 205. Meyer explains his view that the second stage of the Cristero war "lasted until 1940, when the last unsubdued groups laid down their arms." Morris, *Soldiers, Saints, and Shamans*, p. 216. In describing La Segunda in Durango, Morris affirms that the last Cristeros there did not surrender until 1941.

<sup>209</sup> Stephen J. C. Andes, *The Vatican and Catholic Activism in Mexico and Chile: The Politics of Transnational Catholicism, 1920-1940*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Parsons, Wilfrid, S.J., *Mexican Martyrdom*, pp. 206-221. Andes' book is important because of his use of the Vatican Archives. Parson's book, while polemic in a sacred history sense, contains insights into the development of Catholic social programs and consciousness in the late-revolution.

*La Segunda Cristiada* was a vital part of all of this. It was indeed a conflict between the cross (Church), compass (government), and candle (education and philosophy). With an appreciation for forces fighting for and against change in northern Mexico, often within the same region or village, this thesis will provide insight into the complex 1930s. This task will be accomplished through interviews, visits to local sites, research into local events, and analytical interpretations.

## **Methodology**

This thesis will use a combination of sources to bring to light the analysis of those events in Chihuahua that may be considered a part of *La Segunda Cristiada* in that state. Pertinent secondary and primary sources will be combined with oral interviews on-site in various parts of Chihuahua. Primary sources will include personal diaries, contemporary newspaper accounts, letters, death records, museum exhibits, and official reports from various archives online and in Chihuahua, Texas, New Mexico, and Mexico City.

Several factors limit archival research in Chihuahua. First, the state archives in Chihuahua City burned down in 1941. Second, the availability of material from the 1930s and archival facilities in the different municipalities in Chihuahua containing the same is extremely limited. Third, one of the two principal newspapers in the state, *El Correo*, was shut down by the government in 1935. This censure of the press was an event worth mentioning in later chapters on its own as an example of *La Segunda* violence.<sup>210</sup>

---

<sup>210</sup> These three factors combined are anecdotal yet represent challenges for finding archival information in the state of Chihuahua. I have not found any direct inference that the burning of the state archives was deliberate. Thomas Rath, 'Burning the Archive, Building the State? Politics, Paper, and US Power in Postwar Mexico', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 55.4 (2020), 764-792 (p. 766). In this article Rath quotes highly-regarded Mexican historian Luis

Fourth, many of the details of the conflicts – microevents of the 1930s were not of sufficient size or importance for the officials to record or were an embarrassment. Therefore, specifics of the events are lost, except in the memories of the descendants of those who died or suffered therein. Consequently, differing events must be correlated to determine if there was a pattern in the events that would reflect a common set of circumstances. In this way, the events themselves, as documented from primary material, became evidence for or against the existence of such a pattern.

In the case of this thesis, I will seek to study a sufficient sample of disparate events that together inform me as to whether or not it is historically accurate to describe them collectively as a movement worthy of being known as “La Segunda Cristiada.”<sup>211</sup> In essence, those events that can be confirmed as historically evident become the evidence for the pattern. In the words of de Vries, “Certain things then emerge from the sources themselves.”<sup>212</sup>

I have found the various Municipal *Registro Civiles* (Civil Registries) useful in my research. They include significant birth, death, marriage, and other information from the nineteenth century. In the absence of news sources, they provide valuable information. Formal interviews with regional and local cronistas (municipal historians) are of interest but often contain personal and familial perspectives that must be accounted for in the resulting information.

---

González y González regarding the burning of archives in Mexico. Edward L. Langston, ‘The Impact of Prohibition on the Mexican-United States Border: The El Paso-Ciudad Juárez Case’ (PhD Dissertation, Texas Tech University, 1974), pp. v-vi. Regarding his work on violence in Ciudad Juárez in the 1920s and 1930s, Langston informs his readers “Examination of documents contained in the Chihuahua and Juárez archives revealed only a small amount of information. City records and the chamber of commerce files in Ciudad Juárez were incomplete and those remaining in existence offered little enlightenment on the subject.” After attempts to find information on conflicts and violence in Chihuahuense archives for this thesis, I can understand his frustration.”

<sup>211</sup> Giovanni Levi, ‘On Microhistory’, in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. by Burke, 93–113 (p. 97). Levi informs us “Microscopic observation will reveal factors previously unobserved.”

<sup>212</sup> Jan de Vries, ‘Playing with Scales: The Global and the Micro, the Macro and the Nano’, *Past and Present*, 242.14 (2019), 23-36 (p. 24) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gtz043>>.

The historian is challenged when drawing inferences from single events about the broader culture.<sup>213</sup> On the other hand, by fitting the individual pieces together, one may create a mural, tapestry, mosaic or make conclusions about the same from that which the inferences portray.<sup>214</sup>

I aim to gather enough details about the individual conflicts across the state from the collected information to discern the causal forces behind them. The root cause and the manifestation are not always the same. For example, what appears on the surface to be an agrarian or religious issue could actually be about settling old grudges between families who have competed for dominance in a village for years.<sup>215</sup> There is a tendency to want to classify conflicts along specific predetermined categories. The events must be understood correctly to determine their place in history adequately. This hermeneutic task requires sifting and balancing of all the available details to determine causal forces using the available data to the best of one's ability.

One more caution is necessary, in that the details of events are not uniformly reported across what are often limited sources. For example, in the gun battle between the federal army and the agraristas at Zamaloapan, Chihuahua, some reports indicate the lieutenant in charge of the soldiers shot to death his brother-in-law, who was in charge of the agraristas.<sup>216</sup> Other accounts suggest that the leader of the agrarian force was a brother-in-law (*hermano politico*) of the mayor of the larger Mennonite town of Cuauhtémoc, about thirty kilometers from where the battle took place. The difference in these details is not vital to either the outcome of the battle or the reasons why it occurred. The details add human interest to the account but are not essential to its analysis.

---

<sup>213</sup> Bailyn makes it clear that the goal of history is not to look at events one at a time, but to demonstrate how they interact "continuously" to create "an evolving story." This epitomizes the study of the Second Cristiada with its disparate events. See Bernard Bailyn, 'The Challenge of Modern Historiography', *The American Historical Review*, 87.1 (1982), 1-24 (p. 1).

<sup>214</sup> Lüdtke, 'Introduction What is the History', p. 21, uses the words collages or mosaics to refer to the aggregation of small events into a greater whole, an appropriate metaphor for the study of La Segunda in Chihuahua.

<sup>215</sup> Bantjes, *As if Jesus Walked on Earth*, p. 51.

<sup>216</sup> For the specifics of this event, see the discussion of it in this thesis, chapter four, pp. 213-217.

In the above sense, this thesis studies the events and everyday history of 1930s Chihuahua from a regional perspective. There are variabilities that must be acknowledged, even within the northwestern Mexico region in the 1930s.<sup>217</sup> Sonora had a much more traumatic anticlerical experience with the extensive burning of churches and their icons than did Chihuahua. There was a much more significant Anglo-immigrant presence in Chihuahua, causing competition over land and water allocation and usage.

Regional studies of small-scale events have gained usage in Mexico since the pioneering use of it as a model in the work of influential Mexican historian Luis González y González.<sup>218</sup> In other words, study enough situations in a village, and one may develop a better understanding of a district and so on, including a state or region.<sup>219</sup> Charles Joyner once suggested, “asking large questions in small places.”<sup>220</sup> This is what we intend to accomplish in this study and to do so in a diachronic manner, looking at events over more or less a decade that characterize changes in post-revolutionary culture, priorities, and conflicts in Chihuahua.<sup>221</sup>

Through analytical event narrative we seek to understand the broad systemic dysfunction, characterized by conflicts and violence in the 1930s in northern Mexico, known popularly as *La*

---

<sup>217</sup> The variabilities within regional studies must be carefully observed and acknowledged. Arias cautions those who would attempt regional studies that they are indeed a “stormy sea” for the researcher. Arias, ‘Luis González. Microhistoria’, p. 186.

<sup>218</sup> Luis González y González, *Pueblo en Vilo: Microhistoria de San José de Gracia* (México D.F.: El Colegio de México, 1968); Luis González y González, ‘El arte de la microhistoria’, *Invitación a la microhistoria* (1973), pp. 8–53. González y González is considered the father of Mexican microhistory as an independent methodology of historical study. I have not deemed my approach or methodology as a microhistory perspective per se, because I have not been able to gather together a sufficiently large body of data over time for each event that typically characterizes a formal microhistory study.

<sup>219</sup> Geoff Eley, *A Crooked Line: From Cultural History to the History of Society* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), pp. 156-157, 185. On p. 156, Eley suggests a “growing appeal of smallness of setting, a moving away from big-scale structural histories of whole societies.”

<sup>220</sup> Charles W. Joyner, *Shared Traditions: Southern history and folk culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), p. 1; Szijártó, ‘Puzzle, fractal, mosaic’, p. 3.

<sup>221</sup> For a brief examination of the distinction and functionality of looking at events in a diachronic, rather than a synchronic manner, see Phillips, ‘The Revival of Narrative’, pp. 156-157.

*Segunda Cristiada*. Through that process and at the same time, individual lives and events need to be examined.<sup>222</sup> There is much to learn about the culture. This learning is vital since culture and a need to restore lost patrimony are inextricably linked together.<sup>223</sup>

A useful synonym for patrimony is heritage. Heritage is an essential component of culture. When heritage is at risk, the culture suffers and vice-versa. Specific events may have occurred over a few hours, days, or even years. Events at the local level may well portend those occurring in a broader region, indicating a type of intertwined narrative within a region.<sup>224</sup> This generalization will be evident in our study of religion and conflicts in 1930s Chihuahua.

As noted, including certain seemingly non-important events, while excluding others will inevitably be difficult to defend. While a dated source, Cornell historian Louis Gottschalk writes in *Understanding History* that honest historians can, at best, seek a “sweet reasonableness in their evaluation, selection, emphasis, and arrangement of those facts or sequences.”<sup>225</sup> That is certainly a worthy goal. Borrowing a phrase from British historian Arthur Marwick, this thesis can only “offer answers” instead of affirming that it categorically “answers” the how, what, and why of these disparate events in Chihuahua in the 1930s.<sup>226</sup> Andrade informs us that some historical studies have “tended to neglect the human dramas that make history come alive.” He encourages studying “real people.”<sup>227</sup> The focus of this thesis’s study of 1930s Chihuahua is found in studying the conflicts and

---

<sup>222</sup> Levi, ‘On Microhistory’, pp. 94, 97, 109.

<sup>223</sup> Burke, ‘History of Events’, pp. 237, 241. Burke uses the writings of several historians to remind us that narrative description is not to remind us of the events “for their own sake, but for what they reveal about the culture in which they took place.”

<sup>224</sup> Burke, ‘History of Events’, pp. 237, 241.

<sup>225</sup> Louis R. Gottschalk, *Understanding History: A Primer of Historical Method*, 2nd edn (New York: Knopf, 1969), p. 9.

<sup>226</sup> Arthur Marwick, *The New Nature of History: Knowledge, Evidence, Language* (Chicago: Lyceum Books, 2001), p. 17.

<sup>227</sup> Tonio Andrade, ‘A Chinese Farmer, Two African Boys, and a Warlord: Toward a Global Microhistory’, *Journal of World History*, 21 (2010), 573–591 (p. 574).



interactions of people primarily as they interacted in their local area, often involved in their everyday tasks.

Most of the events studied were not cases where the participants went “off to war” but found conflict coming to them as they struggled to regain lost patrimony on their own home ground. They were fighting for a local and genuine cause in their everyday lives. Their neighbors and even their relatives were often involved in the struggle. Most of those involved are unknown to history and remained nameless and unknown after their engagement, bringing either victory or defeat, or even death, nevertheless, they are “real people.”<sup>228</sup>

This episodic study of events requires fieldwork to become a priority and an archive of a sort. The locales where the conflicts occurred become puzzle pieces that are methodically combined via local records, oral interviews, and the memories found therein. Fieldwork becomes a vital component of the study of the everyday lives of campesinos in northern Mexico. When local archives are scarce and the events don’t rise to the level of that which is preserved in regional, federal or specialty archives, it makes the oral interview and digging for the localized tidbit of information all the more important.<sup>229</sup>

For example, explaining why some villagers responded in specific ways to external forces is a daunting, impossible task. For example, in September 1935 men from Granados, Sonora fought against their mayor and the schoolteacher who attempted to arrest and incarcerate a new priest,

---

<sup>228</sup> An example of this is the confrontation in chapter 3 of this thesis where federal soldiers engaged with local militia over ejido issues. In the fighting the commander of the federal army killed his own brother-in-law who was the mayor of a local village (Bustillos or Zamaloapan) and a leader in the militia. These details are disputed in various accounts, but it is clear they impacted real people in a very real and personal way.

<sup>229</sup> Paul Steege and others, ‘The History of Everyday Life: A Second Chapter’, *The Journal of Modern History*, 80.2 (2008), 358–378 (p. 375). Steege and his co-authors inform their readers, “Historians of everyday life do not necessarily have ‘less’ information than other historians—all history is fragmentary—but the explicit acknowledgement of this fragmentation foregrounds the process of interrogation with which our accounts necessarily begin.”

forcing what was deemed socialist education on their children, while others did not. We may be able to determine what happened, but not necessarily why some villagers participated in the death of the mayor and beating of the teacher, while others did not.<sup>230</sup>

In 2000, Hans-Ulrich Wehler made a bleak and brash prognosis for the future of the historical study of everyday life—*Alltagsgeschichte* in the German context when he stated, “it has been a failure theoretically speaking. All of the smart people have moved on to the New Cultural History.”<sup>231</sup> Steege, the historian who provides us this quote some twenty years later, assures his readers that predictions about the death of *Alltagsgeschichte* “have been greatly exaggerated.”<sup>232</sup>

I find it useful to provide perspective on “ordinary” people by describing and analyzing their determination, desperation, and deeds as they actively seek to influence their own situation. Often, these circumstances include the influences of external and often foreign (used in the sense of the unfamiliar) forces against which they react in a force-field analysis sense to reestablish equilibrium in their lives.<sup>233</sup> The photo of the water hoarding protest of several hundred people in April 1938 in front of the Municipal Presidency building in Nuevo Casas Grandes epitomizes the desire of the “ordinary people” to have a say in matters that impacted their rights (See **Figure 14**, p. 262).

---

<sup>230</sup> Bantjes, *As if Jesus Walked on Earth*, pp. 48–50.

<sup>231</sup> Andreas Daum, ‘German Historiography in Transatlantic Perspective: Interview with Hans-Ulrich Wehler’, *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute*, 26 (2000), 117–126, <<https://www.ghi-dc.org/publication/bulletin-26-spring-2000>>; Steege, Paul and others, ‘The History of Everyday Life’, p. 358.

<sup>232</sup> Steege, Paul and others, ‘The History of Everyday Life’, pp. 358, 373; Eley, *A Crooked Line*, pp. 157, 184. Eley suggests that *Alltagsgeschichte* is a study that “privileged the local, the ordinary, and the marginalized.” In a few words he has summarized those involved in the events in this study. Even in the events involving small-scale fighting, both sides were often of the same region and social class. In studying the events, I had a pervasive sense of those involved having been marginalized by someone or something more powerful than themselves.

<sup>233</sup> David F. Crew, ‘Alltagsgeschichte: A New Social History “From below”’, *Central European History*, 22.3/4 (1989), 394–407 (p. 396). writes, “Alltagsgeschichte attempts to show how “ordinary people” refused to accept their assigned roles as the passive “objects” of impersonal historical developments and attempted, instead to become active historical subjects.”

One of the limiting challenges of Alltagsgeschichte as a methodology for historical research is the paucity of primary sources left to us by an everyday population.<sup>234</sup> For several reasons, accounts of local events often do not find a home in archives. This paucity of primary sources is a challenge to the researcher, especially in an environment like northern Mexico where many archives were destroyed in the various conflicts that encompassed the revolutionary years.

For example, significant portions of the Chihuahua state archives burned down in 1941 when the Governor's Palace was destroyed by fire. Savarino suggests that the shortage of attention paid to events in Chihuahua by historians has been due to the disorganization and loss of archives and material previously housed therein. He also notes that significant Chihuahuense sources, such as newspapers are "a true calvary" for the researcher.<sup>235</sup> The details and truth about the events languish in the minds and memories of those impacted by them. In a sense, the events themselves and their oral remembrance become the archive.<sup>236</sup>

Patricia Arias wrote an insightful analysis of the study of history as held by Mexican historian Luis González y González.<sup>237</sup> She indicates that for González, his methodology is composed of four elements: space, time, society, and vicissitudes.<sup>238</sup> In simpler terms, his model for historical study is not the sole product of the archives. In seeking to understand these four key elements, the researcher must be able to touch, sense, and intuit what is being studied.<sup>239</sup> I live in rural Chihuahua.

---

<sup>234</sup> Alf Lüdtke, 'What is the History of Everyday Life and Who are its Practitioners?', in *The History of Everyday Life: Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life*, ed. by Alf Lüdtke, Princeton studies in culture/power/history (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 3–40 (p. 13).

<sup>235</sup> Savarino Roggero, *El Conflicto Religioso en Chihuahua*, p. 16.

<sup>236</sup> Knight, 'Patterns and Prescriptions', p. 345.

<sup>237</sup> Arias, 'Luis González. Microhistoria' 177-186.

<sup>238</sup> Arias, 'Luis González. Microhistoria', p. 181. Translation by the author.

<sup>239</sup> Jason Dormady, *Primitive Revolution: Restorationist Religion and the Idea of the Mexican Revolution, 1940-1968* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2011), p. 2. Three important questions are asked early on in this book. Referring to examples of three separatist churches created in the late-revolutionary time frame, he asks, "Are these three cases just narrow microhistories of marginal interest? Where are the grand politics or the battles between church and state that have so dominated the literature on religion in Latin America?" He answers his own

I can travel to the spaces needed to understand Chihuahua's history in a way that a distant researcher cannot.

Late nineteenth and early twentieth century Mexican historian Luis González Obregón (not to be confused with Luis González y González) in his book *Las Calles de México* wrote in a narrative historical style that was very descriptive of both everyday events and people in the urban struggle that was Mexico City.<sup>240</sup> He was a pioneer of such historical writing in Mexico. In an insightful comment for a study of *La Cristiada*, Ginzburg theorizes that individual events looked at from a reduced "scale of observation" turn what otherwise might be a footnote into a book.<sup>241</sup> *La Segunda* in Chihuahua has too long lain hidden in historical footnotes waiting for an appropriate scale of observation.

Ginzburg theorizes that historians in the past were concerned with studying the tree to understand its entirety. He suggests that today's historians often study its many leaves to understand the nature of the tree.<sup>242</sup> This thesis will study *La Segunda Cristiada*'s leaves to understand better the whole tree of the culture and society of Chihuahua in the turbulent 1930s.

In a study of this sort, a specific event's importance, success, or heroic nature is not always the litmus test for inclusion. For example, the addition of the Escobar Rebellion of 1929 was not because it successfully overturned a government. Its duration was only a few months and ended in complete failure. Its importance was in the abdication of the extremely popular constitutionally-

---

questions in the next two hundred pages, wherein, by dedicating a chapter of his book to each group, he touches, intuitively, and informs the reader of salient details of each religious group.

<sup>240</sup> Luis González Obregón, *Las calles de México: Leyendas y sucesos, vida y costumbres de otros tiempos*, Sepan cuantos 568, 14th edn (México: Porrúa, 2009). Using historical images of many of the great streets, boulevards, and byways of the capital city, this classic book, originally published in 1922 provides detailed narrative analysis of colonial times in Mexico City. González Obregón was a writer, historian, and director of the (AGN) National Archives of Mexico from 1910 to 1920.

<sup>241</sup> Carlo Ginzburg, John Tedeschi and Anne Tedeschi, 'Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about It', *Critical Inquiry*, 20.1 (1993), 10–35 (p. 22).

<sup>242</sup> Ginzburg, Carlo; Tedeschi, John; Tedeschi, Anne, 'Microhistory: Two or Three Things', p. 31.

elected revolutionary General Marcelo Caraveo from the governorship of the State of Chihuahua to take leadership of the revolt in that state. As will be seen, this helped set in place a six-year-long disarray in the elected executive branch of Chihuahua's government. It exacerbated the leadership chaos of the 1930s in that state. Thus, the constant turnover in the state executive resulting from the seed planted by Caraveo's decision was more important to the state than the rebellion itself.

As previously noted in the Abstract, this thesis will bring the insights together to suggest answers to four primary questions. First, was there indeed a pattern of religious and other conflicts sufficiently unified in purpose to justify whether or not La Segunda Cristiada in Chihuahua is worthy of study as a singular mosaic or tapestry? Second, to what degree were those involved in those conflicts successful in their goal of gaining or restoring resources, rights, and an internal locus of control? Third, to what degree were state and federal governments effective in solving the existing conflicts in 1930s Chihuahua? Fourth, if my research informs me to answer the first question in the affirmative, is then the term "La Segunda Cristiada" the appropriate appellation for the mosaic revealed as further insight is gained into conflicts in 1930s Chihuahua?

### **“Uno, Dos, ¡No Hay Dios!”<sup>243</sup>**

Those who fought against government forces in the First Cristiada specifically for religious reasons were motivated in their actions because they could not stand by while believing the government sought to *limit* the Catholic Church's influence. Those who fought for religious reasons ten years

---

<sup>243</sup> This oft-quoted (Bantjes, Mecham, and Escalante) rhyme was apparently taught to children in 1930s Mexican schools as they marched in the course of the school day. Its notoriety originated in a contemporary article in an early Protestant magazine, 'The Winds Shift in Mexico.' *Missionary Review of the World*, 61.3 (1938), pp. 123–124, <<https://cafis.org/files/MRW-1938-3.pdf>>.

later in the Segunda Cristiada were motivated to do so because they believed they could not stand by while the government sought to *eliminate* the Catholic Church's influence. This unacceptable reality was best illustrated when both state and local governments required priests to register and then legislatively limited the number of priests allowed to serve their faithful (See **Figure 10**, p. 183). The difference between limit and eliminate was huge in the minds of the faithful.<sup>244</sup>

The oft-required schoolyard chant "**Uno, Dos, ¡No Hay Dios!**" was a forecast of the government's desire for a secular, or for some, a Godless future. The late Adrian Bantjes made this proposition truly clear:

"Why did Mexico's revolutionary elite embark on a violent anti-religious campaign that put the entire revolutionary project at risk? There was more to it than an effort to undermine the political and economic power of the Catholic Church. A revolutionary creed and ritual could not be established **without the elimination** of competing belief systems, symbols, and rites and the subsequent "transfer of sacrality," as Mona Ozouf calls it, to a new revolutionary civil religion (emphasis mine).<sup>245</sup>

Speaking of the 1930s, Bantjes adds, "In the wake of the armed phase of the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920), it (**the government**) sought to destroy traditional culture and create a modern society. Backwardness and religious 'fanaticism' were **to be eradicated** by using cultural tools such as iconoclasm (emphasis mine)."<sup>246</sup>

---

<sup>244</sup> Kelly, *Blood-Drenched Altars*. An example of this strong differentiation is readily found in the strident writing about the Mexican situation of Monsignor Francis Kelly. He was Bishop of Oklahoma City in the United States and a leading proponent of US intervention in Mexico.

<sup>245</sup> Adrian A. Bantjes, "Idolatry and Iconoclasm in Revolutionary Mexico: The De-Christianization Campaigns, 1929-1940," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos*, 13.1 (1997), 87-120 (p. 90); Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), p. 1.

<sup>246</sup> Bantjes, "Idolatry and Iconoclasm in Revolutionary Mexico", p. 88; Joseph Clarke, "'The Rage of the Fanatics': Religious Fanaticism and the Making of Revolutionary Violence", *French History*, 33.2 (2019), 236-258, (p. 258). Clarke, in this article on the French Revolution and fanaticism, comments regarding the sense among revolutionary politicians in France that opposition to the government was the work of "conspiratorial clerics and deranged fanatics." The most effective way to eliminate such fanaticism in France was to view it as a "disease to be eradicated."

*La Segunda* was indeed a conflict of a different kind. From the church's perspective, the state's goals were harsh. Others in opposition fought or advocated for land rights to right old wrongs or simply because of an interest in taking advantage of the chaos. Most conservative combatants fought curiously enough to maintain the status quo and restore the patrimony (*Tierra y Libertad*) promised by the revolution. They affirmed on the signature line of virtually every order, letter, and plan signed by those in revolutionary prominence. Loosely aligned against the state's power, the hopes of the campesino for either the status quo or restoration of rights had little chance of success. That which was perceived by them as either threatened or lost would not prove easy to protect or regain.<sup>247</sup>

While the revolution promised to right wrongs, very few actually experienced its benefits. Especially in the north, where wealthy foreigners controlled much of the natural resources, this net failure (both revolutionary and post-revolutionary) created wounds, distrust, and pain among both participants and onlookers.<sup>248</sup> It also created political challenges. Dwyer informs us that the priority for 1920s and 1930s land distribution was more the latter than the former.<sup>249</sup>

This lack of success provides insight into the realities of the damage and resulting challenges, which included a propensity for violence in revolutionary and late-revolutionary Chihuahua. Brand notes, "When northern Chihuahua finally evaluated the results of eighteen years of revolution and

---

<sup>247</sup> James B. Greenberg, *Blood Ties: Life and Violence in Rural Mexico* (Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1989), pp. 59-76. This book offers a first person insight into the life of a contemporary of the years of this thesis, albeit in the state of Oaxaca. Don Fortino Santiago, who typifies much of the hopes and despair of those who this thesis focuses on in the late-revolutionary period. The first half of the book is a historical account, taken from interviews of Fortino's life. Written from an anthropological history perspective, the second half of the book is a generalized analysis of the violence, conflicts, disputes, and hopelessness of the Mexican campesino.

<sup>248</sup> John Dwyer, *The Agrarian Dispute: The Expropriation of American-Owned Rural Land in Postrevolutionary Mexico* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2008). This book provides an excellent overview of the stresses, challenges, and attempts to ameliorate the foreign ownership of land and resources, primarily that of US interests in northern Mexico (especially in Baja and Sonora). While Chihuahua receives virtually no focus in the book, it does help us understand concomitant challenges in other states in the 1930s. The focus is on cardenista attempts to resolve tensions over Calles' policies and local tensions regarding foreigner's land ownership.

<sup>249</sup> Dwyer, *The Agrarian Dispute*, pp. 19-20.

turmoil, the inventory listed a poverty of manpower (sic), livestock, food surplus, and capital; and a wealth of enmities, problems, and social experiments.”<sup>250</sup>

This thesis seeks to help create a framework that may explain the causes, realities, and effects of this struggle to thwart the desires and ultimately control the Mexican people’s minds, wills, and emotions. A combination of restrictive laws would confront these ends regarding everyday religious practices, new policies involving educational curriculum and pedagogy, and a complicated mass of policies and practices related to the distribution of land and water. For those involved, it was a terrible conflict. One can still sense its impact almost 100 years later.

In today’s stories, corridos, legends, and individual’s recollections of what their *tatarabuelo* (great or great-great-grandfather) told her about what really happened and when, one can discover the desire for patrimony, a continuous piece of the old past. Oral history testimony that can, on the surface, appear to be unreliable can still be useful for the researcher because of the insights it provides into the interviewee’s continued-from-the-past worldview. Scholars such as Ana Maria Alonso have noted that locals often speak of the past using the present tense in northern Mexico.<sup>251</sup> In hearing about that past in the present tense, we will discover a longing for what was to be and still might someday become.<sup>252</sup> This quest is what this thesis is, and *La Segunda* was all about in the hearts and minds of the everyday citizens of Chihuahua.

---

<sup>250</sup> Donald E. Brand, ‘The Historical Geography of Northwestern Chihuahua’ (Dissertation, University of California, 1937), p. 135.

<sup>251</sup> For a further discussion of speaking of the past in the present tense, see Alonso, *Thread of Blood*, p. 178; Morris, *Soldiers, Saints, and Shamans*, pp. 10-15, 24-25; Lourdes C. Vázquez Parada, *Identidad, cultura y religión en el sur de Jalisco*, 2nd edn (México: El Colegio de Jalisco, 1997), pp. 20-34, 83-145; Lourdes C. Vázquez Parada, *La guerra cristera: Narrativa, testimonios y propaganda* (Jalisco, Guadalajara: Editorial Universidad de Guadalajara, 2020). These sources provide great insight into campesino cultural patterns and both the desire and need to retain the past as present.

<sup>252</sup> For more information on this concept, including the usefulness of oral history testimony, see Lourdes C. Vázquez Parada, *La guerra cristera: Narrativa, testimonios y propaganda* (Zapopan Jalisco: Universidad de Guadalajara, 2012); Vázquez Parada, *Identidad, cultura y religión*; Maurice Halbwachs and Lewis A. Coser, *On Collective Memory*, Heritage of Sociology Series (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020).



## Chapter One

### ***The Unfulfilled Promises of the Mexican Revolution:*<sup>253</sup> The Pueblo's (People's) Hunger for Lost and Threatened Patrimony in Mexico and Chihuahua**

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the reader with a broad-based summary of the concept of patrimony in Mexican history, culture, and mindset. My research increasingly suggests it as a principal theme for the organization and understanding of the 1930s conflicts in Mexico, specifically in Chihuahua. It is vital to provide some background and a framework for the meaning of the term in both the Mexican and Chihuahuense context in this thesis.

Patrimony is a word that has varying forms, uses, and definitions. Patrimonialism is a usage applied specifically to a political situation that is a “form of political organization in which authority is based primarily on the personal power exercised by a ruler, either directly or indirectly.” It is often connected with the term “patriarchy.”<sup>254</sup> While patrimonialism may involve the rite of an elite, this is not a focus for patrimony as used in this thesis.

Another source provides three meanings for the concept of patrimony. The first is “an estate inherited from one's father or ancestor.” The second is “anything derived from one's father or ancestors: heritage.” The third is “an estate or endowment belonging by ancient right to a

---

<sup>253</sup> Greenberg, *Blood Ties*, p. 192. Greensburg writes about Juquila, a small village in Oaxaca. When reflecting on the changes brought about by the Mexican Revolution in that pueblo, he candidly and succinctly answers, “Little or nothing changed.” So, it was all over Mexico, including Chihuahua.

<sup>254</sup> J. Lemke Bakker, “patrimonialism.” Encyclopedia Britannica, September 1, 2017. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/patrimonialism>.

church.”<sup>255</sup> These definitions fit more accurately with my intended use in this thesis. I will expand the third use to include not only the church, but government, organization, institutional, or individual rights to inherit patrimony.

I also will include both corporal and incorporeal heritage as part of patrimony. For example, a memory, rite, ceremony, the arts, or identity may be a patrimony for an individual, family, or organization as well. For example, in *Coco*, the popular movie about a Mexican family, the family’s identity was that they made shoes. It was assumed that any child of that family would also become a shoemaker, the patrimony of the family for generations.

I also include the concept of natural rights, either granted humans by their very nature, or by some supernatural force, a deity for example. Finally, I will suggest that both an actual and a perceived right or heritage may be important to an individual, family, or organization.

INAH, or the Mexican National Institute of Anthropology and History, was founded in 1939, during the time period studied in this thesis.<sup>256</sup> In answer to the question “Who are we?” the organization’s website replies: “The National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH) researches, preserves and disseminates the nation’s archaeological, anthropological, historical and paleontological patrimony to strengthen the identity and memory of the society that holds it.”<sup>257</sup>

The concept of patrimony in Mexican history is important at two levels. First is that which has been deemed “local” patrimony—the village or family’s privilege, property, and personal

---

<sup>255</sup> Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary, s.v. “patrimony,” <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/patrimony>.

<sup>256</sup> INAH: El Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH), *Mexico's National Institute of Anthropology and History: Gobierno de la Ciudad de México* <<https://mexicocity.cdmx.gob.mx/tag/inah/>>.

<sup>257</sup> INAH: El Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH): *¿Quiénes somos?* (México, 2022) <<https://inah.gob.mx/quienes-somos>>. This is the official website for El Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH), the governmental agency responsible for the care of and dissemination of information about the national cultural heritage of Mexico.

rights.<sup>258</sup> Second is that which, especially since the revolutionary time period, has been deemed the “national” patrimony—the collective heritage, especially the property of the nation, which is both managed and controlled by governments.<sup>259</sup>

Notice how the above mission statement of INAH carefully traverses the two. It preserves the nation’s patrimony but does so on behalf of the “society that holds it.” Thus, it bridges the gap between the two often competing forms of patrimony. This gap was clearly exacerbated by the creators of the 1917 Mexican constitution. They were more concerned with creating and controlling a national patrimony, while the locals were concerned with reestablishing their concept of local patrimony, especially over land and familial rights and prerogatives.<sup>260</sup>

As a result of my research, I gradually developed the concept of patrimony as a fitting framework for understanding La Segunda. Patrimony in Mexico is indeed a dual and often competing concept. Local ejidos (the community-level governmental entity that by vote of the members distributes rights to land to eligible citizens) and local municipal governments (sixty-seven of which exist in the state of Chihuahua) hold local patrimony over the land in their grasp. Local groups of ejidatarios elect *aguadors* (water-masters) or those in charge of managing water rights for agricultural purposes.

---

<sup>258</sup> Elizabeth E. Ferry, *Not Ours Alone: Patrimony, Value, and Collectivity in Contemporary Mexico* (New York, N.Y., Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2005), p. 11; Claudio Lomnitz-Adler, *Deep Mexico, Silent Mexico: An anthropology of nationalism*, Public worlds, v. 9 (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), pp. 54-57.

<sup>259</sup> Elizabeth E. Ferry, ‘Envisioning Power in Mexico: Legitimacy, Crisis, and the Practice of Patrimony’, *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 16.1 (2003), pp. 22–53 (p. 23). Ferry characterizes patrimony as “a dominant metaphor in longstanding arguments over the proper trajectory of the Mexican nation.”

<sup>260</sup> Kees Koonings, ‘New Violence, Insecurity, and the State: Comparative Reflections on Latin America and Mexico’, in *Violence, Coercion, and State-Making in Twentieth-Century Mexico: The Other Half of the Centaur*, ed. by Wil G. Pansters (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012), pp. 255-278 (p. 256-257). Koonings refers to “the patrimonial character of state power and the use of state, public, or pseudo-public violence as one of the instruments of social disciplining toward the subaltern classes and castes.” These very “subaltern classes and castes” are those with whom the state was competing for patrimonial rights and power.

These groups compete and may conflict with both state and federal level organizations where the primary focus is on national patrimony – control of the cultural and natural resources of Mexico. The concept of patrimony (natural and customary rights) is managed at both the highest federal and the most intimate gathering of the local community. Both groups, from the 1930s to modern times are determined to maintain control over what is “theirs” to manage. This determination tends towards the creation of conflicts and complexities at both levels.

La Segunda was a disparate and often disconnected series of local events (often conflicts) across a broad swath of Mexican territory, from extreme southern Mexico (Tabasco, Veracruz, and Chiapas), the Central Belt (Puebla, Michoacán, Jalisco, and San Luis Potosi), to the northwest (Chihuahua, Durango, and Sonora). Its geographical impact spread wider than the Cristero War, predominantly fought in central and west-central Mexico.

Like most large murals, La Segunda had no frame or coherent outline to connect all the people, places, and events. It incorporated agrarian, ideological, and sectarian disputes with various-sized militias and various forms of polemics to bring resolutions. It was a construct without a form. Like a boxless jigsaw puzzle, it was not easy to envision and study as a cogent whole. From thousands of men under arms in Tabasco and Chiapas to five to twenty men involved in events in Chihuahua, the conflicts were fought in differing manners, utilizing varied weapons ranging from the pulpit to the pistol, from politics to polemics.

In the 1930s in Mexico City there were the clandestine activities of Zacatecano General and former civilian governor of a generous portion of the state, Aurelio Acevedo Robles. He published magazines, organized, and led the remnants of the Liga Nacional Defensora de La Libertad Religiosa

(LNDLR).<sup>261</sup> While not a major factor in local conflicts in Chihuahua, Acevedo deserves mention. Jean Meyer underlined Acevedo's importance by dedicating his three volume work on La Cristiada to "Aurelio Acevedo and his Companions in the Impossible Fidelity."<sup>262</sup>

Meyer also dedicated a significant number of pages to the parallel government of Zacatecas formed by Acevedo, his Cristeros, and various local leaders in that state in May 1928.<sup>263</sup> After the First Cristiada ran its course, Acevedo eventually settled in Hidalgo where he was provided a salary by the League in order to maintain some cohesion among the remaining cristeros and prepare for the second round of conflicts in the 1930s that many believed was still to come.<sup>264</sup> In 1932 that time came as Acevedo was named by the league to be the head of military operations in Zacatecas and to reorganize the remaining Cristeros for fighting in San Luis Potosí, Durango, and Saltillo, Coahuila.<sup>265</sup> Acevedo was one of the few Cristero leaders to live his life to a natural death.

In the state of Chiapas, in extreme southern Mexico, the fervor of the anticlericalists was stronger, especially under Gobernador Victórico Grajales (1932-1936) in La Segunda than in the Cristero War. The iconoclasm against churches, saints, and statues was regular and intense, leaving the citizens to hide their spiritual relics wherever possible. This type of passive resistance dominated throughout the state.<sup>266</sup>

---

<sup>261</sup> Aurelio Robles Acevedo 1905-1973, *Aurelio Robles Acevedo* (2015) <[http://www.ahunam.unam.mx/consultar\\_fcu?id=3.1](http://www.ahunam.unam.mx/consultar_fcu?id=3.1)>. Many papers and photos related to Acevedo are in the archives at UNAM – the National University of Mexico.

<sup>262</sup> Meyer, *La Cristiada I*, p. 3.

<sup>263</sup> Meyer, *The Cristero Rebellion*, pp. 138-146.

<sup>264</sup> Flores Olague and Meyer, *Cristero, hombre de liberación*, p. 84.

<sup>265</sup> Flores Olague and Meyer, *Cristero, hombre de liberación*, p. 85.

<sup>266</sup> Virginia Guzmán Monroy, 'El conflicto anticlerical en la región zoque chiapaneca y la defensa de los bienes muebles e inmuebles (1914-1935)', *Boletín de Monumentos Históricos*, Tercera Época.37 (2016), 175-191 (pp. 188-191).

Salinas provides the reader with insight into La Segunda in the state of Morelos. According to his study, the conflicts of La Segunda in that state coalesced around Enrique Rodríguez Mora, a forceful personality and former *zapatista* who fought from 1934 to 1938. Using a militia of from 100 to 200 men, he fought the federal army across the rural areas of the state.<sup>267</sup> Rodríguez fought for a “three-dimensional rebellion,” a combination of agrarian, religious, and ideological (socialist education) reasons, all of which together were in opposition to the early Cardenista regime.<sup>268</sup> He also fought in opposition to a number of local leaders in Morelos with whom he had “personal conflicts.”<sup>269</sup>

In Chihuahua, there was no such one dominant rebel leader in the 1930s. My study indicates that the majority of the Chihuahuense conflicts were local in origin, involving specific grievances involving personal tensions. It is important to note that such local conflicts characterized La Segunda throughout Mexico, including in Chihuahua. Elite hacendados, local appointed *jefes políticos*, and middle-class, independently-minded local ranchers were often those who bore the wrath of those who Salinas deemed “segunderos.”<sup>270</sup>

In Michoacán, the religious component of the Segunda Cristiada movement, could recruit only six hundred fighters, compared to 10,000 in the Cristero War. The church hierarchy came out strongly against an armed rebellion and the movement quickly dispersed.<sup>271</sup>

La Segunda in the state of Durango was a mixture of agrarian, Indigenous, sectarian and banditry conflicts. Of the fifteen states involved in La Segunda, Durango is considered the last location where the Cristeros finally laid down their arms in 1941.<sup>272</sup> Federico Vázquez was the last

---

<sup>267</sup> Salinas, “Untangling Mexico’s Noodle,” p. 485.

<sup>268</sup> Salinas, “Untangling Mexico’s Noodle,” pp. 471-472.

<sup>269</sup> Salinas, “Untangling Mexico’s Noodle,” p. 474.

<sup>270</sup> Salinas, “Untangling Mexico’s Noodle,” p. 475.

<sup>271</sup> Guerra Manzo, ‘El Fuego Sagrado’, pp. 523, 531.

<sup>272</sup> Meyer, *La Cristiada I*, p. 377.

leader of the Cristeros in Durango. In the final months of the conflicts, he led his troops, known as “Los Azules,” in acts of banditry and violence against local ranchers and mines.<sup>273</sup>

La Segunda was fought across Mexico as citizens tried to come to grips with the abrupt pause of the Cristero War and the many unkept promises of the Mexican Revolution. They hoped for the kindling of a new flame of both rights, patrimony, and freedom.

Perhaps Colonel Estrada says it best in a conversation with Father Sergio Vargas, a priest in the classic novel *Rescoldo*, written about La Segunda in Durango: “We only want to be like embers left over from the fire. . . . Cristero embers. May we keep the little light going in the embers amidst the ashes. We will then hope for the coming of good winds to kindle the fire, so the Cristiada is lit in all of Mexico. That will then be a beautiful, beautiful bonfire.”<sup>274</sup> The bonfire never came to be. The Second Cristiada sputtered and burned across Mexico, but never became a bonfire. It failed in its goals. Neither the government nor the people achieved that for which they were struggling. This was true in broader Mexico, as well as specifically in Chihuahua.

For what were they struggling? From an examination of the disparate events across Mexico, it appears that the struggles were over issues related to sectarian (faith) concerns, ideological (educational, political systems, and economic issues), and agrarian issues (concerns over natural resources such as water and land rights and ownership).<sup>275</sup> Specific tensions varied between states and regions. Salinas makes a helpful observation in noting that the Cristero War was a “high-level persecution,” while that of the 1930s “clashed with the daily religious culture of the people.”<sup>276</sup>

---

<sup>273</sup> Efraín Guzmán Rangel, *La Revista de Historia de la Universidad Juárez del Estado de Durango*, 37 (Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas de la Universidad Juárez, 2009), pp. 68-72.

<sup>274</sup> Estrada Muñoz, *Rescoldo*, p. 83.

<sup>275</sup> Nora Hamilton, *The Limits of State Autonomy: Post-Revolutionary Mexico* (Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982), p. 142. Hamilton states that as late as the Cárdenas years “70 percent of Mexico’s active population in agriculture still worked in feudal conditions.” She posited that the activism of the agrarian peasants was for the purpose of “structural change” in their working conditions.

<sup>276</sup> Salinas, “Untangling Mexico’s Noodle,” p. 498.

Therefore it was a much more personal and quotidian set of conflicts, one that was impacted daily life and practices. It was bound to create a greater opposition on the part of the everyday Mexican, whether in Morelos or Chihuahua.

*Patrimonio* or patrimony is a concept that speaks to a recollection of or a desire to return to a life that was naturally familiar to the Mexican *campesino*.<sup>277</sup> Thinking of the Mexican countryside and its denizens as a homogenous group or culture would be simplistic and reductionist. The *campo* or country varied from the north to the south of Mexico, from rural villages and large cities. A desire to restore or preserve the patrimony of family, land, faith, and what might be deemed natural law, and rights was ubiquitous in the literature about late-revolutionary Mexico. For example, in the preface to the 1994 edition of Jean Meyer's doctoral thesis, he states:

I would like to reiterate that the great popular Cristero drama is a piece of history of the Mexican people, of the people, and not of the parties, of the authorities, of the systems. That is why it has an epic name: *La Cristiada*. It was argued that the word did not exist except in the popular "jargon". . . . I have no doubt the *Cristiada* can be read as the *Illiada*. You can feel Greek or Trojan; you will not fail to feel a deep emotion when reading each of the episodes of this epic that belongs to the **patrimony of humanity** (emphasis mine).<sup>278</sup>

From Meyer's descriptive statement, one can begin to coalesce the lost or delayed patrimony of the Mexican people into a framework for a study of *La Segunda*. This framework combines the promises made by the revolution, the heritage, beliefs, customary rights, and the

---

<sup>277</sup> Carolina Crespo, Flora Losada and Alicia Martín, *Patrimonio, políticas culturales y participación ciudadana*, 1st edn (Buenos Aires: Editorial Antropofagia, 2007). Set in Argentina, this book provides an overview of the study of cultural patrimony and its impact on a region or country.

<sup>278</sup> Meyer, *La Cristiada I*, p. xvi. Later scholarship such as that of Raby and others, tends to view the *Cristiadas* in broader terms, inclusive of economic, agrarian, and class conflicts. Raby, 'La "Educación socialista"', p. 77 - slight variations in page numbers may exist.



essence of what Mexicans, especially in the rural space, expected and understood that they deserved.<sup>279</sup>

Patrimony also includes both what Ferry identifies as a desire “to lay claim to resources and gain access to a loci of power.”<sup>280</sup> Without resources, it was impossible or challenging to wield power. Without power, it was virtually impossible to accumulate resources. Depending on the outlook (national or local), the search for patrimony was a quest to realize, preserve, and protect some or all citizens’ history, heritage, and rights. The inclusion of both power and protection as attributes of patrimony may be overlooked in the literature.

Lomnitz, when discussing what he deems the “new version of the national patrimony” created in late revolutionary Mexico and supported by both the Maximato and Cardenista regimes, suggests that it is a view in which “progress could only occur under the jealous protection of a nationalist state.”<sup>281</sup> Of course, progress itself is a term with infinite definitions and interpretations.

Thus, the stage was set for a complex struggle between national and local patrimony. For many, such as the campesino, rancher, or especially women seeking rights to own property in their own name,<sup>282</sup> programs such as the ejido brought neither resources (the land was never theirs to own) nor power (there were a myriad of rules, cronyism, and oversight organizations to follow).<sup>283</sup>

---

<sup>279</sup> Many original documents, letters, plans that I have read have a signature line that includes the phrase “Tierra y Libertad.” These are only two of the often mentioned expectations of participation in the revolution.

<sup>280</sup> Ferry, *Not Ours Alone*, p. 4.

<sup>281</sup> Lomnitz-Adler, *Deep Mexico*, p. 54; Knight, *Cardenismo*, p. 76. Knight deems the Cardenista regime a “par excellence. . . empowerment of the state, rather than of the people.”

<sup>282</sup> Jocelyn Harrison Olcott, ‘Las Hijas de La Malinche: Women's Organizing and State Formation in Postrevolutionary Mexico, 1934-1940’ (PhD, Yale University, 2000), pp. 281-283.

<sup>283</sup> Jocelyn Olcott, Mary K. Vaughan and Gabriela Cano, *Sex in Revolution: Gender, Politics, and Power in Modern Mexico* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006); Jocelyn Olcott, *Revolutionary Women in Postrevolutionary Mexico* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2005). These books bring more attention to the changes brought about by women and the slow and uneven improvements in their important roles in late and postrevolutionary Mexico.

Whether speaking of Mexico generically or Chihuahua specifically, one of the significant challenges of the 1930s was that the late-revolutionary elite often saw local or campesino patrimony as a force to be overcome to bring about a new Mexico. On the other hand, the new Mexico was the enemy of the traditional rural or campesino patrimony. Moisés Saenz, one-time director of education for the entire country, was quoted as warning that “the school is the enemy of the culture.”<sup>284</sup> The conflict between the two was inevitable.

Patrimony and customary rights have much in common. In the rest of this chapter, we will analyze both. In Mexico, up until 1940, the concept of customary rights was applied primarily to Indigenous peoples. The *peones acasillados* (those required to live on hacienda-provided housing), farmworkers, low-income laborers, and everyday farmers/workers in the thousands of villages in Mexico were not included with those who were recognized as having customary rights, especially as related to land ownership or land rights.<sup>285</sup> In that sense, the Indigenous people were granted rights not recognized by or for the mestizo living in poverty.<sup>286</sup> In Chihuahua, except in its rugged southwest, the conflicts of La Segunda Cristiada were centered around the newly forming middle class and the poorer classes seeking rights that they believed were their own, even if not codified in law.<sup>287</sup>

---

<sup>284</sup> Guillermo Palacios, ‘Postrevolutionary Intellectuals, Rural Readings and the Shaping of the ‘Peasant Problem’ in Mexico: El Maestro Rural 1932–34’, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 30.2 (1998), 309–339 (p. 320, fn. 34).

<sup>285</sup> Friedrich Katz, ‘Labor Conditions on Haciendas in Porfirian Mexico: Some Trends and Tendencies’, *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 54.1 (1974), 1–47.

<sup>286</sup> For a better understanding of the emphasis on the focus on Indigenous people and customary laws, see Eveline Dürr, ‘Translating Democracy: Customary Law and Constitutional Rights in Mexico’, *sites*, 2.2 (2005), pp. 91–118. In northern Mexico, the peasant, campesino and peon classes became the focus of the quest for customary rights, at times with either the support or opposition of the growing middle class.

<sup>287</sup> The largest Indigenous ethnic group in Chihuahua is the *Rarámuri* or Tarahumara people. The latter nomenclature (Tarahumara) was given to this group by the Spanish. Within the group, they refer to themselves as Rarámuri. That nomenclature is part of their patrimony. Therefore, in the spirit of this thesis, I will use the term Rarámuri when referring to them.

Customary rights and law involved a local social contract within and between the primary Mexican social entities – family, ethnic group, and community.<sup>288</sup> In this covenantal relationship, especially in the north, government held a tenuous and liminal place between local power brokers and property owners.<sup>289</sup>

Tradition and traditional memories are essential factors in the individual, family, or community.<sup>290</sup> While often neither precise nor accurate, memories form an integral part of expectations.<sup>291</sup> Expectations provide motivation and willingness to suffer or commit violence to achieve the desired outcomes or rights. Memories are incorporeal.

Harrison Olcott's thesis makes many interesting points about incorporeal concepts such as femininity, heritage, and patrimony as social constructs developed over years.<sup>292</sup> In so doing, she uses both patriarchy and patrimony as terms with distinct meanings.<sup>293</sup> Such constructs as femininity may become something seen as necessary to be maintained, protected, and fostered as a part of a people's or a nation's patrimony and costumbres. Such a construct and its patrimonial nature may even impede the development of a specific group's (in this case, women's) identity and progress.<sup>294</sup> She develops femininity as a concept in the context of rural and national Mexico that was being challenged because of changing roles brought about by the Mexican Revolution.

---

<sup>288</sup> WIPO, *Customary Law, Traditional Knowledge and Intellectual Property: An Outline of the Issues* (2013) <[https://www.wipo.int/export/sites/www/tk/en/resources/pdf/overview\\_customary\\_law.pdf](https://www.wipo.int/export/sites/www/tk/en/resources/pdf/overview_customary_law.pdf)> (p. 2).

<sup>289</sup> José A. Rangel Silva and Hortensia Camacho Altamirano, *La propiedad rural en México en los siglos XIX y XX: Enfoques económicos y políticos*, Colección Investigaciones (San Luis Potosí, SLP: El Colegio de San Luis, 2012). WIPO stands for the World Intellectual Property Organization.

<sup>290</sup> WIPO, *WIPO 2013*, p. 3.

<sup>291</sup> G. M. Joseph, Anne Rubenstein and Eric Zolov (eds), *Fragments of a Golden Age: The politics of culture in Mexico since 1940*, American encounters/global interactions (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), p. xi. In the foreword to this book, Elena Poniatowska reminds the reader that the history of Mexico is "the painful, dark, and deep history of those who have nothing and are still able to create their own idols, the myths of their culture, and the saints of their devotion.

<sup>292</sup> Harrison Olcott, 'Las Hijas de La Malinche', pp. 19, 46, 178, 207, 421.

<sup>293</sup> Harrison Olcott, 'Las Hijas de La Malinche', pp. 23, 77, 281, 421.

<sup>294</sup> Harrison Olcott, 'Las Hijas de La Malinche', p. 46.

Olcott states “Mexican femininity and motherhood were often celebrated as part of the Mexican national patrimony, a treasure to be protected from the threat of foreign ideas.” She adds “The push for expanded political and social rights for women would threaten the treasured national patrimony of Mexican womanhood.”<sup>295</sup> Therefore, patrimony involves ownership, inheritance, and a desire for tangible and intangible (incorporeal) assets.<sup>296</sup> All of these were interconnected in Mexican reality, especially if viewed over time.<sup>297</sup>

The first agricultural law of any significance passed by the Calles administration was in December 1925. In a mouthful of a name in English, it was called “The Regulatory Law Concerning the Division of Ejido Lands and the Constitution of the Ejido Patrimony.”<sup>298</sup> There it was again, the word patrimonio used in the name of a law designed to give an individual campesino, in addition to the village, a stake in ownership (in terms of a “right”) to a parcel of land. “The Ejido Patrimony” implied a right that would be debated and critiqued from its passage into the 21<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>299</sup>

For the Indigenous people, property was the collective patrimonial domain of the group.<sup>300</sup> This early Indigenous communal identity gradually gave way to more western ideas of individuality that invaded Mexico from Europe and later the United States. Heritage, inheritance, property, and

---

<sup>295</sup> Harrison Olcott, ‘Las Hijas de La Malinche’, pp. 19, 421.

<sup>296</sup> George L. Gretton, ‘Ownership and its Objects’, *The Rebel Journal of Comparative and International Private Law*, 71.4 (2007), 802-851, p. 817. This article provides a readable understanding of corporal and incorporeal rights and patrimony. It includes a brief introduction to such rights in Latin America.

<sup>297</sup> Adrian C. Sinkler, ‘Privatizing the Patrimony: State-Society Relations, Family Norms, and Institutional Change in Rural Mexico’ (PhD, University of Washington, 2011), p. 136. Sinkler comments that to the ejidatario, land was “not a good to be sold or transferred but as a patrimonio to be protected and handed down.”

<sup>298</sup> Simpson, *The Ejido: Mexico's Way Out*, p. 89.

<sup>299</sup> René Zenteno René, Former Undersecretary for Population, Migration, and Religious Affairs at Mexico's Secretary of Interior, *From the Mexican Perspective*, “Beyond the U.S.-Mexico Border Buildup: Security, Migrants and Immigration Reform”, Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies (University of California, San Diego, La Jolla, CA, 2013). From my notes taken during attendance at the conference, Secretary Zenteno declared the ejido to be less than successful from an economic perspective because 30% of cultivatable ejido land in Mexico remained fallow in the twenty-first century.

<sup>300</sup> Mario Rechy Montiel, *Síntesis de la Historia agraria de México: Con una reflexión sobre las tierras no productivas* <[https://www.academia.edu/22395700/s%C3%ADntesis\\_de\\_la\\_Historia\\_agraria\\_de\\_M%C3%A9xico](https://www.academia.edu/22395700/s%C3%ADntesis_de_la_Historia_agraria_de_M%C3%A9xico)>.

rights became increasingly individualized. Conflicts became localized and involved small, sometimes familial groups against federal, state, and local agencies, even at times against each other or their own ejidal communities.

Patrimony had special significance to the inheritance of land and the preservation and protection of a way of living in the manner and style of the local pueblo. Ferry states:

***These possessions – often referred to as patrimonio (patrimony) – are understood to have been handed down from prior generations and intended to be handed down in turn to future generations. In Mexico, this mode of characterizing possessions as inalienable property has been extremely vigorous, especially in subsoil resources, collectively held land, and ‘cultural properties.’ In each of these domains, the loss of such patrimonial possessions poses a direct threat to the collective, not only to its current members but to past and future members as well.*** (Emphasis mine)<sup>301</sup>

In late-revolutionary times, those who struggled as caretakers of someone else’s inheritance had little to hope for but the rightful return of their rights, property, pride, and power over their day-to-day activities. This desire was not just an economic but a moral imperative. It was their moral right to expect the return of that which had been their forebearers and the promise of the Revolution.

For many Mexicans, especially in the north, where the cradle of the Revolution was first rocked, a new sense of having earned a better life had been bought with their own blood, sweat, and tears. Referring to the peasant class of Namiquipa, Chihuahua, who fought for the revolution, Nugent poignantly asks the question, “Were they merely the *cartuchos quemados*, the burnt or spent cartridges of a struggle in which the victory went to other social classes?”<sup>302</sup>

---

<sup>301</sup> Ferry, ‘Envisioning Power in Mexico’, p. 22.

<sup>302</sup> Daniel Nugent, *Spent Cartridges of Revolution: An Anthropological History of Namiquipa, Chihuahua* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 3; Teodosio Duarte Morales, *El rugir del cañón* (Ciudad Juárez: Ed. B Herrera, 1968), p. 23.

The pueblo wanted the freedom to plow their own land; to worship God in their capillas on their own property; and to pass down their beloved family traditions, values, and patrimony to their children. They were willing to protest, complain, or fight to realize that goal. Over time, after the Revolution, they slowly moved in status from peon to *campesino*.<sup>303</sup> They were people of the *campo* . . . rural revolutionaries who believed they had the moral right to expect that their customary rights would be respected.

*La Segunda* was a climax of the movement towards militancy on the part of those who would settle for nothing less than what they considered their natural rights. In the north, especially in Chihuahua and Sonora, the rural people fought the Apache for one hundred years or more. They, indeed, were willing to fight by whatever means they had against whatever force was standing between them and that for which they and their ancestors had struggled, and their as yet unborn descendants would demand.

They found allies in those Boyer terms “village revolutionaries,”<sup>304</sup> an apt nomenclature for the working or middle classes also seeking to obtain the promises of the Revolution. The *campesino* and village revolutionary (middle-class teachers, owners of commercial businesses, owners of small parcels of land, and the burgeoning professional class that included skilled tradespeople and self-employed workers ) would join to change the present while clinging to the familiar (not necessarily always the past). This linkage illustrated the fight for patrimony that would characterize *La Segunda*, albeit in different forms and outcomes depending on regional and local influences. These people would join together, as seen in chapter four in Camargo, Chihuahua, to demonstrate the ability of small-town revolution to coalesce around shared goals.

---

<sup>303</sup> Boyer, *Becoming Campesinos*. This book is a description of that journey.

<sup>304</sup> Boyer, *Becoming Campesinos*, pp. 28-31. Although it focuses on the state of Michoacán, this book is useful in understanding the development of the *Campesino* identity throughout Mexico.

It is important to note that when writing of northern Mexico, the past may not be that long ago. For example, the modern-day village of Mata Ortiz in northwestern Chihuahua was established as the village of Pearson. It was a lumber mill town built after the railroad was constructed that far in 1910. No adults have been there for more than three generations. They moved there from elsewhere in Mexico and brought their heritage, customary rights, and patrimony with them. An ejido there was not founded until the mid-1920s.<sup>305</sup>

On the other hand, its municipal seat, Casas Grandes, just fifteen miles away, was founded in the mid-1600s. Even though its modern ejido was founded in 1927, its concept of community (ejido) land was first established in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Casas Grandes has centuries of ejido consciousness. The present and the past are closely intermixed in many parts of Mexico's north.

In the rural pueblo of northern Mexico, patrimony is not just an individual's right, but an inheritance received from the past and, in turn, passed on to future generations. The following represents the development of the construction of the concepts related to customary, natural, and constitutional rights in Mexico.

### **Natural Rights, Plans, and the Constitution of 1917**

From independence to the 1930s, Mexico was a country of plans for much of its history. These "plans" were usually an outline of complaints by a group against the status quo, including action

---

<sup>305</sup> Richard D. O'Connor and Walter P. Parks, *They Called it Pearson: The History of Mata Ortiz and the Casas Grandes Valley* (San Diego and Riverside, CA: Parks O'Connor Publishing, 2023). This book is a recent study of the history of the pueblo of Mata Ortiz and the Casas Grandes River valley. The 1930s is the only decade where there is a gap in the history of this community.

steps by which they would right the wrongs they perceived in existing leadership while simultaneously uniting their adherents to the cause.<sup>306</sup>

From *Iguala* in 1821 to *Ayutla* in 1854 (a plan designed to implement Liberal reforms),<sup>307</sup> from revolutionary *San Luis Potosí*, *Ayala*, *Empacadora*, and *Guadalupe*, to *Hermosillo* in 1929, each aggrieved party who demanded change had a “plan” by which they would accomplish their mission or solve their grievances. There were commonalities among the plans. The protestors’ quest was “sacred.” They were fighting for their “rights,” either natural or legal. Depending on their viewpoint, they planned to “restore dignity” for either or both the nation and the persecuted individuals under the then-current regime.

These various plans, most of which were revolutionary in nature, were by their very language a form of protest, petition, and precursor to the use of violence to meet the desired ends. They often foreshadowed the joining together of disparate groups to meet the desired ends. Intellectuals wrote them, upper and middle-class adherents financed the means and served as revolutionary leaders, while the everyday people withstood the worst of the ensuing violence.

Some plans speak with Biblical fury, like Orozco’s Plan of Empacadora of 1912. For General Pascual Orozco and his followers, President Francisco Madero was nothing less than the “Pharisee of Democracy, the Iscariot of the fatherland.” Madero was a “false” apostle, “ the “offspring of a wicked breed” who “crucified” the people and led them “on the calvary of the blackest of

---

<sup>306</sup> For an excellent online source for the text of Mexican “plans” from independence through 1940 see Román Iglesias González, *Planes políticos, proclamas, manifiestos, y otros documentos de la independencia al México moderno, 1812-1940*, Serie C, Estudios históricos, núm. 74, 1st edn (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1998).

<sup>307</sup> Marco A. García Pérez, *El Plan de Ayutla: Norma Fundamental del Constitucionalismo Liberal*, VI Jornadas de Estudios sobre la Guerra de Reforma, Intervención Francesa y Segundo Imperio. A 160 años de las Leyes de Reforma At: Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas, UNAM (México D.F., 2019). The Plan of Ayutla was important at a time when Conservatives were in control of the government. It paved the way for Liberal reforms, ultimately leading to the Constitution of 1857.



treasons.”<sup>308</sup> This type of language was to reappear in less than twenty years in *La Segunda*, couched in the polemics of those who believed their very heritage, beliefs, and values were at risk.

For example, the manifesto or plan published before the rebellion by General José Gonzalo Escobar and his followers against interim President Emilio Portes Gil and the powerful Mexican army similarly provides a window into the mind of the northerner in the very last year of the decade of the 1920s. In the Escobar revolt, the “plan” written by Licenciado Gilberto Valenzuela, the former Mexican ambassador to the United Kingdom and erstwhile presidential candidate,<sup>309</sup> was named the Plan de Hermosillo, after the capital of the State of Sonora where it was written and published. Typically, such a plan outlined the grievances of the signatories, their demands, and a plan of action. From the very beginning of its preface, this well-written document clearly states its central thesis:

After half a century of many struggles against the enemies of liberty and the Law, after defeating on the battlefield all the despots who have always tried to impose their absolute will on the will of the country, Mexico succeeded in consecrating in the Constitution of 1857, at the cost of much blood and cruel sacrifice, the express recognition of the **natural rights of man** as the basis of social institutions and the categorical declaration that the popular will is and must be in Mexico the only origin and guideline of public power. . . . In this way it was written once again in blood letters in the Constitution of Queretaro that the sovereignty of the People is the only source of authority and power and that the essential object and purpose of the institutions is to duly guarantee the **natural rights of Man** to channel and facilitate the exact application of this saving principle. . . . (emphasis mine)<sup>310</sup>

---

<sup>308</sup> Michael Meyer, *Mexican Rebel: Pascual Orozco and the Mexican Revolution, 1910-1915* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), pp. 138-147.

<sup>309</sup> René A. Valenzuela, ‘Chihuahua, Calles, and the Escobar Revolt of 1929’ (Master's Thesis, University of Texas, El Paso, 1975), p. 15. It is not the norm to quote a master's thesis in a doctoral study, however this is an excellent work with great insight into the conflict and its impact on Chihuahua.

<sup>310</sup> Iglesias González, *Planes políticos, proclamas, manifestos*, pp. 956-960.

Whether known by the training, instinct, or wisdom that is naturally passed down through the family, this instinct for natural rights remained a powerful prioritizing force and hope in the mindset of the campesino as that identity increased in the 1930s.<sup>311</sup>

These were all realities for which future generations of Mexicans would advocate, protest, and fight, especially during the almost fifty years of the revolutionary period. This same passion for rights, whether deemed customary or natural, is reflected in the writings of those who engaged in similar struggles into the late-revolutionary 1930s. In this thesis, I suggest that one's rights were vital (if unspoken) in the fight for patrimony.

One example of this struggle was that of Adolfo de la Huerta. He was a former interim president of Mexico and one of the four powerful generals from Sonora who went into rebellion against the government. For six months in 1923 and 1924, de la Huerta led a rebellion against Obregón. Like so many others, it proved unsuccessful.

Sometime early in 1924, an unnamed supporter of the delahuertista rebellion wrote a plan of support for the same, titled "*Manifiesto a la Nación. Documento de Apoyo al Movimiento delahuertista.*" After listing his concerns, the anonymous writer listed his "sacred" hope for agrarian reform in the de la Huerta administration. He eloquently wrote:

The right of ownership of land is so sacred that the institution of the family patrimony should crown it. The land that a man works is loved as is his own family. From it, he receives his sustenance and that of his children, the security of his life, and his tranquility. ***The result of this juncture of patrimonies forms the security of national life and public tranquility. Consequently, family patrimony must be instituted in Mexico as a guarantee of peace and a basis of true***

---

<sup>311</sup> Brian Tierney, 'The Idea of Natural Rights-Origins and Persistence', *Northwestern Journal of International Human Rights*, 2.1 (2004), 1-13; Paolo G. Carozza, 'From Conquest to Constitutions: Retrieving a Latin American Tradition of the Idea of Human Rights', *Human Rights Quarterly*, 25 (2003), 281-313 <[https://scholarship.law.nd.edu/law\\_faculty\\_scholarship/581](https://scholarship.law.nd.edu/law_faculty_scholarship/581)>. The several different volumes written by Tierney form an extensive exposition of the development of natural rights theory.

**nationalism**, following the example set by the most just and civilized peoples of the world (emphasis mine).<sup>312</sup>

As in most cases in the 1920s and 1930s, this unknown author's hope went unrealized. The rebellion was put down, the officers executed, and de la Huerta, fortunate to be alive, went into exile in Los Angeles.<sup>313</sup>

Transitioning into the 1930s, an essential document for the specific focus of this thesis was the *Plan of Cerro Gordo*, formulated by a group of new Cristero fighters in the State of Veracruz. It was finalized and signed in the village of Cerro Gordo, halfway between Ciudad Veracruz and Xalapa (or Jalapa), on November 20, 1934, (See **Figure 15**, p. 263). This group would grow to a strength of 6,000 fighters<sup>314</sup> and impact Mexico from Veracruz through Chihuahua to Sonora. They called themselves the *Ejercito Popular Libertador* or the Popular Liberation Army. Among their propositions was to “propose to reconquer the universal freedoms of man and to re-establish the rule of order based on respect for the family and freedom, according to the **principles of Natural Law**” and to “recognize fundamental freedoms and **principles of social order, respect for the family and property** (emphasis mine).”<sup>315</sup>

This struggle between unfulfilled hopes, natural law and rights, and the government's juridic law and rights and how those would be legislated began before the ink dried on the Constitution of 1917. Many fought for these and similar rights and hopes during the revolutionary years that

---

<sup>312</sup> *Manifiesto a la Nación. Documento de Apoyo al Movimiento delahuertista* (1924). In Iglesias González, *Planes políticos, proclamas, manifiestos*, pp. 925-935.

<sup>313</sup> Dulles, *Yesterday in Mexico*, pp. 209-260. Dulles presents one of the most thorough examinations of the de la Huerta rebellion.

<sup>314</sup> Bantjes, *As if Jesus Walked on Earth*, pp. 43–67. This book is an excellent introductory source to La Segunda Cristiada, especially in Sonora.

<sup>315</sup> Plan de Cerro Gordo, *De la Torre Family Papers Collection*, Special Collections Online Exhibits. University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ (UASC).

continued into the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>316</sup> In the face of the government's desire for power and oversight (control), these efforts by the everyday Mexicans were unsuccessful.

### **The 1917 Constitution vs. the Pueblo – Envisioning Power over the Soul of Mexico**

Those appointed to attend the creation of the 1917 Mexican constitution in Querétaro, by and large, were of the mind to create a document that would focus more on national than local patrimony. This constitution would be one in which the nation, in the form of the federal government, would direct, protect, and in a sense, monitor the progress of its people.<sup>317</sup> The government would be the custodian and enforcer of the national patrimony regarding land, ideology (faith and education), and control of resources. As will be seen, only twice does the term “patrimony of the family” appear in its voluminous text. To the majority, a concept of local patrimony was not a priority.<sup>318</sup> This lack of attention to local or regional sentiments would create the embers (rescoldos) for the fires that would erupt in the late 1920s and 1930s.

According to Flores' History of the Constitutional Convention, tiny Colima, sparsely populated Baja, and Chihuahua each had only one representative at the 1917 constitutional convention.<sup>319</sup> Durango had seven representatives, while Sonora had four. On the other hand,

---

<sup>316</sup> Marcos Guila and Jeffrey Bortz, 'The Rise of Gangsterism and Charrismo: Labor Violence and the Postrevolutionary Mexican State', in *Violence, Coercion, and State-Making in Twentieth-Century Mexico*, ed. by Pansters, pp. 185-211.

<sup>317</sup> Lomnitz-Adler, *Deep Mexico*, p. 54. Lomnitz-Adler states that the concept of nationalism at the time of the writing of the 1917 Constitution had at its core that “progress would only occur under the jealous protection of a nationalist state.” This hindered the development of local and regional concepts of identity and patrimony. The expected role of the village, state, and region was to conform to the desires and dictates of the federal government, especially during the Maximato.

<sup>318</sup> Ferry, 'Envisioning Power in Mexico', p. 27.

<sup>319</sup> Pob\_1910\_9. Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI), *Third Population Census of the United Mexican States 1910* (1910) <<https://en.www.inegi.org.mx/programas/ccpv/1910/>>.

Guanajuato had nineteen, Jalisco had twenty-one, and Michoacan had sixteen (See **Figure 5**, p. 102). The foreword (presentación) of Flores' history indicates that the number of representatives was chosen according to a state's population, as required by the 1857 Constitution. It is also likely that this policy was ignored to reflect retaliation against the actions of the villistas, still active in 1917, primarily in Chihuahua. The constitutional convention was a constitutionalist affair; the conventionalists (despite the name) need not attend.

Morton adds that there was one other requirement to serve as a Diputado in the Constitutional Convention. One had to "be friendly to the Constitutionalist cause."<sup>320</sup> This caveat could explain why both Chihuahua and Sonora had so few attendees. Even though Carranza installed Arnulfo González, the former governor of Durango, as interim governor in Chihuahua in 1916, the state was still a hotbed of villista supporters. Interestingly, when the convention was meeting in Querétaro to write the constitution, Chihuahua was still occupied by thousands of US soldiers seeking revenge on Villa for his attack on Columbus, NM, in March 1916.<sup>321</sup>

---

<sup>320</sup> Ward M. Morton, 'The Mexican Constitutional Congress of 1916-1917', *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, 33.1 (1952), 7-27.

<sup>321</sup> Eileen Welsome, *The General and the Jaguar: Pershing's hunt for Pancho Villa a true story of revolution and revenge*, 1st edn (New York: Little Brown and Co, 2006), p. 308; Morton, 'The Mexican Constitutional Congress', p. 25. Morton indicates that Carranza shared the newly approved constitution with the Mexican public on February 5, 1917. Welsome points out that curiously, the US Punitive Expedition troops crossed the Chihuahua border back into the United States on February 5, 1917, the very same day.

Figure 5 Data from the 1910 Mexican Census and Constitutional Convention<sup>322</sup>

1910 State or Territory	Census Population	Convention Delegates Allotted	Delegates by Formula	Delegates Alloted Compared to Formula
Aguascalientes	120,511	2	2	same
Terr. de la Baja California	52,272	1	1	same
Campeche	86,661	0	2	-2
Coahuila	362,092	6	6	same
Colima	77,704	1	1	same
Chiapas	438,843	5	7	-2
Chihuahua	405,707	1	7	-6
Distrito Federal	720,753	14	12	2
Durango	483,175	7	8	-1
Guanajuato	1,081,651	19	18	1
Guerrero	594,278	3	10	-7
Hidalgo	646,551	10	12	-2
Jalisco	1,208,855	21	20	1
México	989,510	12	17	-5
Michoacán	991,880	16	17	-1
Morelos	179,594	3	3	same
Nuevo León	365,150	8	6	2
Oaxaca	1,040,398	9	18	-9
Puebla	1,101,600	18	19	-1
Querétaro	244,663	3	4	-1
Terr. de Quintana Roo	9,103	0	0	same
San Luis Potosí	627,800	8	11	-3
Sinaloa	323,642	5	6	-1
Sonora	265,383	4	4	same
Tabasco	187,574	3	3	same
Tamaulipas	249,641	4	4	same
Territorio de Tepic	171,173	3	3	same
Tlaxcala	184,171	3	3	same
Veracruz	1,132,859	18	19	-1
Yucatán	339,613	4	6	-2
Zacatecas	477,556	7	7	same
<b>Total 1910 Population</b>	<b>15,160,363</b>	<b>218</b>	<b>257</b>	<b>-38</b>

<sup>322</sup> Data for chart taken from Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI), *Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía 1910*; Gabriel Ferrer Mendiola, *Historia del Congreso Constituyente de 1916-1917* (México, 2014) <<https://inehm.gob.mx/work/models/Constitucion1917/Resource/686/Mendiola.pdf>> (pp. 163-173).

The chart above demonstrates that Chihuahua, the stronghold of Villa, with a 1910 population of 405,707, was allotted only one representative at the convention. Other northern states had much smaller populations yet were granted significantly greater representation. Coahuila (362,092) had six; Nuevo Leon (365,150) had eight; Sonora (265,383) had four, while Tamaulipas (249,641) had four delegates (See **Figure 5**, p. 102).

The 1917 Mexican Constitution adopted and written in Querétaro twice used the term “*patrimonio de la familia*” (patrimony of the family) to refer to the “inalienable” rights of the family.<sup>323</sup> During the debate over these rights at the constitutional convention, the youngest deputy, twenty-four-year-old Juan de Dios Bojórquez of Sonora, noted:

Deputy Lizardi has come to tell us that neither the Commission nor any of us have sufficient knowledge to offer an opinion on such an important point as economic politics. Many of my fellow deputies and I do not have this preparation, but we also lack constitutional law and other rights preparation. Because we must resolve questions of great importance after hearing the pros and cons and vote for or against them, we must, more than in our knowledge, trust in our **revolutionary instinct** (emphasis mine).<sup>324</sup>

It is essential to note that this commitment to individual rights was not absolute, and the decisions were not always unanimous. After the passing of Article 3 and the particularly acrid debates that accompanied it, the deputies’ reactions were mixed. The more uncertain reported

---

<sup>323</sup> Roberto Rives Sánchez, *La Reforma constitucional en México*, Serie Doctrina jurídica, 556, 1st edn (México D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas, 2010), Article 27 VII f. and Title VI Labor and Social Security XXVIII.

<sup>324</sup> Diario de los Debates del Congreso Constituyente, 21-11-1916 al 31-01-1917, *Convocatoria al IV Congreso Constituyente: Diario Núm. 58, 16-01-1917* <[https://www.diputados.gob.mx/LeyesBiblio/ref/cpeum/DD\\_Constituyente.pdf](https://www.diputados.gob.mx/LeyesBiblio/ref/cpeum/DD_Constituyente.pdf)> (p. 367).

that they “supported the article with the same faith of the Girondists (a losing party in the French Revolution), singing as they mounted the guillotine.”<sup>325</sup>

More confident of their work, others greeted the decision with “prolonged applause and shouts of ‘Long live the Revolution!’<sup>326</sup> ‘Long live the First Chief (referring to Carranza)!’ ‘The *patria* has been saved!’”<sup>327</sup> It is an irony, perhaps, that in saving the *Patria*, the congress may have set the stage for the loss of local *patrimony* for many Mexicans for decades to come.

Seven of the 137 articles of the original 1917 constitution focused on religious restrictions, educational policies, labor laws, and natural resource rights (including land, water, and sub-surface rights) (See **Figure 6**, p. 105). They theoretically brought about significant support, opposition, and resistance.<sup>328</sup> I use the term “theoretically” because one of the hallmarks of the rollout of the new constitution was selective implementation and enforcement, depending on a range of factors, including the goals, purposes, and personal preferences of the then-incumbent president.

---

<sup>325</sup> Reynald Secher, *A French Genocide: The Vendée* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003); Lawrence, *Insurgency, counter-insurgency and policing*, pp. 38, 90; Olivier LeLibre, *The Cristeros: Catholic Soldiers of Christ: 20th Century Mexico's Catholic Uprising* (2014) <<<http://www.catholicapologetics.info/catholicteaching/history/cristero.htm>>>; Jacques Villemain, *Vendée 1793-1794: Crime de guerre? Crime contre l'humanité? Génocide? Une étude juridique* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2017). These sources draw comparisons of certain episodes in the French Revolution to the Cristero experience in Mexico. One of the foremost of these is the counter-revolutionary fighting (some say massacre) in the French province of Vendée from 1793-1795. During this episode Catholic churches were closed, priests were forced to register, church property was nationalized, and French military forces fought against lay Catholics.

<sup>326</sup> E. V. Niemeyer, *Revolution at Querétaro: The Mexican Constitutional Convention of 1916-1917*, Latin American monographs, no. 33 (Austin: Published for the Institute of Latin American Studies by the University of Texas Press, 1974), p. 78.

<sup>327</sup> Niemeyer, *Revolution at Querétaro*, p. 78.

<sup>328</sup> See **Figure 12**, (p. 258) see for the articles amended in the four decades following the adoption of the 1917 Constitution. This chart reveals that the decade of the 1930s had the most amendments of any decade over these forty years.



**Figure 6 1917 Constitution Articles that Proved to be Controversial**

Article	Area of Daily Life Impacted
3	Religion and Education
5	Religion
24	Religion
27	Natural Resource (Land and Water Rights) and Religion
123	Labor Laws
130	Religion

A notable change implemented in Article 27 of the 1917 Constitution would cause conflict for decades over natural versus civil (derived) agrarian rights under the prerogative of the government. The 1857 Constitution recognized natural human rights as the basis for 'social institutions.' The 1917 Constitution placed the rights and prerogatives of the civil authority or governments over the natural rights of individuals.<sup>329</sup> The nation (government) owned all natural resources and granted rights to them as it determined was best in the interest of society. This governmental prerogative became the basis for a controversial and new concept of the ejido. President Calles and those under his control began to flex the government's control in the 1920s and 1930s. For a culture of rugged individualism in northern Mexico, this governmental control of resources was not an embrace but a chokehold.<sup>330</sup>

At times, there were stark discrepancies between statements in the constitution and later government actions, including by some who drafted and signed the document. This irony became the great paradox of the 1930s when it seemed that the federal government's priorities were focused on pursuing its own rights and privileges to the detriment of the individual and the family.

<sup>329</sup> H. N. Branch and L. S. Rowe, 'The Mexican Constitution of 1917 Compared with The Constitution of 1857', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 71 (1917), i-116.

<sup>330</sup> Rechy, pp. 35-37. For a broader perspective on this issue, see Rechy Montiel. He notes 'With this system, private property ceased to be a natural prerogative, as prescribed by the Constitution of 1857, and became a derived right.' The question of whether natural rights may also be derived rights is beyond the scope of this thesis. For an interesting discussion of this question, see John Hasnas, 'Are There Derivative Natural Rights?', *Public Affairs Quarterly*, 9.3 (1995), 215-232.

In the decade of the 1930s, the focus of this thesis, the Constitution, was amended thirty-seven times.<sup>331</sup> These data reflected more amendments in the 1930s than in any other decade in the half-century after it was approved.<sup>332</sup>

Among these changes were restrictions on individual rights in that the various states would be able to mandate what the individual or family had to instruct their children, what the policies were related to ejido rights, but not ownership of land, and with new strident reductions in the clergy, limiting the ability to worship as they wished. These individual or natural rights were deemed existential rights, the very attributes of being free humans.<sup>333</sup>

The fact that the Constitution and its amendments also granted these rights to the states created conflict between federal and state policies. In sparsely populated states such as Chihuahua, there were discrepancies in how state prerogatives were interpreted and enforced. It will be seen in chapter four that the federal government sent the army into Chihuahua to a. disarm agrarians who the state government had armed, and b. protect Mennonites from persecution by local Chihuahuenses. These locals believed that these foreigners were being given special rights, while at the same time, native Mexicans were losing their historic customary, natural, and patrimonial rights. Both of these actions were taken without consultation with or the approval of the state leadership.

For years, there would also be conflicts in Mexico between the individual's and the state's rights to decide what was in the best interests and prerogatives of each. Once determined, the

---

<sup>331</sup> Mauro A. Rivera León, 'Understanding Constitutional Amendments in Mexico: Perpetuum Mobile Constitution', *Mex Law Rev.*, 1.18 (2016), 3-27.

<sup>332</sup> See **Figure 12**, (p. 258) for the data for constitutional amendments by article and decade for the period from 1920 through 1959. Many were harmless clarifications, but some reflected a new spirit of government control over certain elements of local and regional patrimony.

<sup>333</sup> See more of this discussion in Alfonso Noriega Cantú, *Los derechos sociales creación de la Revolución de 1910 y de la Constitución 1917: Creación de la revolución de 1910 y de la Constitución de 1917*, Serie C: Estudios históricos, núm. 27, 1st edn (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Facultad de Derecho, Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas, 1988), pp. 77-111 as discussed in Carozza, 'From Conquest to Constitutions', p. 309.

disputes would continue over how to provide the means to implement (or impose) them.

Niemeyer has deemed this tension and the 1917 Constitution an “irreconcilable contradiction.”<sup>334</sup>

This tension regarding the “sacred” or, at the very least, “natural rights” would be a challenge that confronted Mexico for years.<sup>335</sup> It manifested itself in open fighting, strikes, protests, rewriting of the laws, and guerilla-type actions all over the country, including the State of Chihuahua, as evidenced in chapters three and four.

### Competing or Parallel Patrimonies

One other duality raises its head in this thesis and its focus on Chihuahua. That is the challenge of an additional set of competing or parallel patrimonies. Of all the Mexican states, this may be an issue that is a singular situation, only revealing itself in Chihuahua. In addition to all that has been said about the importance of patrimony to the native Chihuahuense, a second or sacred form of patrimony must also be recognized due to the significant presence of two strongly religious immigrant groups.

This second patrimony is based on and stems from the specifically religious nature and purpose behind Mormon and Mennonite migration to Chihuahua. In the worldview of both groups,

---

<sup>334</sup> Niemeyer, *Revolution at Querétaro*, p. 232. This “irreconcilable contradiction” would continue to plague Mexican internal affairs until the early 1990s and the constitutional reforms under President Carlos Salinas de Gortari. For an interesting discussion of the informal accommodations that circumvented this contradiction, see, Peter L. Reich, *Mexico's Hidden Revolution: The Catholic Church in Law and Politics since 1929* (Notre Dame, Ind., London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995), pp. 1-4, 10-15, 17-34. Reich makes a very good point throughout his book, but at times seems to try a bit too hard to convince the reader.

<sup>335</sup> Brown, ‘Mexican Church-State Relations’, p. 207. In the 1930s during the debate over “reforming” Article 3 of the Constitution, Archbishop Ruiz y Flores warned “It is necessary to remember that there are rights that are prior to and superior to any constitutions, rights which must be respected and defended: religious rights, the right to educate one’s children, the right to life, the right of private property, **and all other natural rights**. (emphasis mine). These were indeed the very personal rights for which the people were willing to endure great conflict.

the territories they occupied in Chihuahua were granted to them by the divine for a specific sacred purpose.<sup>336</sup> This *Weltanschauung* (in the Mennonite vocabulary) or worldview, with the divine at its center, reflects the identity of both religious groups as a *gemeinde* or community needing to declare its unique patrimony in the form of “specialness,” “separation” or “*heilige geschichte*” (sacred history).<sup>337</sup> Each group expressed and professed this uniquely. An identity was created that transcended nationalism with a core identification as a people of faith.<sup>338</sup>

Like the religiously-purposed Cristeros of the first Cristiada, the Mennonites and Mormons lived with a sense of calling and mission that permeated their cultures, attitudes, manner of living, history, and how they dealt with the “other” – those not of their faith. Of course, because of this, they were, at the same time, likely to be seen as the “other” as well.

What is important in this thesis is that we understand the cumulative and imminent threat of the loss to competing patrimonies, whether that of the nation, the mestizo Catholic, the agrarian, campesino, or the Anglo Mennonite or Mormon, of all that was familiar, orthodox (in the sense

---

<sup>336</sup> Thatcher, *Moses, 1842-1909* (2023)

<<https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/MMD/id/29944/rec/4>> [accessed 17 July 2023] Thatcher, *Moses, 1842-1909* (2023) <<https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/MMD/id/32845/rec/4>>; F. L. Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico: The Dynamics of Faith and Culture* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1987), p. 36. On three separate occasions, in 1879, 1880, and 1881 Mormon apostle Moses Thatcher dedicated Mexico for “the gospel” (the proselytizing ministry of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints) as well as for colonizing safety for those fleeing persecution into Mexico.

<sup>337</sup> Jacob Peters, *Mennonites in Mexico*, Jacob Peters (Nuevo Casas Grandes, CH Mexico, 2023). In an interview with me, Peters provided the German term “*heilige geschichte*” or sacred history to refer to the Mennonite concept of their own history. It is interesting that the Peters family are missionaries sent to minister to Mexican Mennonites with both their physical and spiritual needs. He also lamented the fact that in recent history as the Mennonite culture has become more secularized, this sense of sacred history is diminishing.

<sup>338</sup> Walter Schmiedehaus, *Dios es Nuestra Fortaleza: Los Antiguos Colonos Menonitas en México* (Blumenort, CH Mexico: Museo y Centro Cultural Menonita, A.C., 2021), p. 31. When they arrived in Chihuahua, the Mennonites founded a mission group they called “*hombres tocados por la gracia*” (men touched by grace). The intent was to establish a mission outreach (proselytization) to the local mestizo communities. When the community as a whole took a vote on creating this group, it was rejected. The people decided that Mennonites do not mix in the affairs of anyone but respect the faith of all. Therefore, they rejected the Mission. This points out one difference with Mormon identity, which was highly evangelistic in its nature.

that it made sense), customary, and safe in the mind of the late-revolutionary northern Mexican.<sup>339</sup> The threat to this patrimony was a widespread local and national phenomenon. It was fundamental to the peasant, urban worker, miner, Indigenous native, *ranchero*, politician, and others who believed they had lost what they might have received from those who came before them in the sense of both resources and power.<sup>340</sup>

The term “land hunger” (see fn. 339) could as well appropriately refer to that same desire and hunger on the part of Mormons, and Mexican *campesino*.<sup>341</sup> All three groups believe they had been promised land, the *campesino* by the revolution, and the Mormon and Mennonite by God. These competing or parallel patrimonies created the inevitable conflicts that would follow in Chihuahua throughout *La Segunda*.

As this thesis takes us deeper into Chihuahua, we must understand what makes the state’s character unique based on its specific and unique history, location, population, climate, and culture.<sup>342</sup>

---

<sup>339</sup> Harold L. Sawatzky, *They Sought a Country: Mennonite Colonization in Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 62-63, 160, 197-198. Sawatzky refers to the Mennonite’s desire for patrimony in Mexico as a ‘land hunger.’

<sup>340</sup> Barry Carr, ‘The Mexican Communist Party and Agrarian Mobilization in the Laguna, 1920-1940: A Worker-Peasant Alliance?’, *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 67.3 (1987), 371–404.

<sup>341</sup> Arias, ‘Luis González. Microhistoria’, (p. 181). Arias clarifies the importance of land to the Mexican villager. They are “deeply integrated with their land and from this integration derive their personality and their function.”

<sup>342</sup> Manuel A. Machado, *Barbarians of the North: Modern Chihuahua and the Mexican Political System* (Austin, Tex.: Eakin Press, 1992), p. x. Historian Paul Vanderwood, in the foreword to this book concurs that all of Chihuahua’s combined features give it a character that is indeed “unique” in Mexico.

## Chapter Two

### ***Chihuahua: Land of Oppressive Majesty*** **Emptiness, Silence, Violence, and Cultural Enclavements or Liminal Others**

The intent of Chapter Two is to highlight and analyze the specific characteristics of the State of Chihuahua that led to its uniqueness and sometimes being overlooked in the Second Cristiada. As previously noted, these characteristics made La Segunda in Chihuahua develop in divergent ways from the same series of conflicts in other states. Lister and Lister, in their outdated yet still classic history of Chihuahua, deemed the state “the Land of Oppressive Majesty.”<sup>343</sup> I can think of no better term to describe its complexity. Its breadth is indeed both oppressive and majestic at the same time.

As differentiated from other states in southern, central and the Gran Nayar area of Mexico, there was one large singular group of Indigenous people in Chihuahua in the early twentieth century, the Rarámuri people. They are a seasonally migratory people, living most of the year in the Sierra Madre Mountains of southern and southwest Chihuahua. In the 1920s and 1930s, it was estimated there were approximately 45,000 Rarámuri living in impoverished conditions in the mountains.<sup>344</sup>

After 1925 when the Chihuahua government closed the state schools it had been operating, education was offered to a small number of Rarámuri children by municipal and Jesuit schools. The SEP (*Secretaría de Educación Pública*) of the federal government then began to slowly penetrate the

---

<sup>343</sup> Lister and Lister, *Chihuahua Storehouse of Storms*, p. 276.

<sup>344</sup> Andrae M. Marak, ‘The Failed Assimilation of the Tarahumara in Postrevolutionary Mexico’, *Journal of the Southwest*, 45.3 (2003), 411–435 (p. 414).

area with federal day and boarding schools.<sup>345</sup> By 1934 only 280 of the estimated 8,000 Rarámuri children were in attendance in the government's boarding schools.<sup>346</sup> As will be seen in chapter three, this failed process created tensions in the Rarámuri region among both the mestizo and Indigenous populations.

During the 1930s, no large militias, armies, or forces were raised by governors or zone commanders in Chihuahua as in other states in Mexico, such as Veracruz and San Luis Potosí.<sup>347</sup> In Chihuahua, the rebellions were small quotidian events of which only a sample can be reviewed in this thesis. Chihuahua's *La Segunda*, when coordinated at all, was not organized in Ciudad Chihuahua, the state capital, but in the state's many local municipalities and villages. Thus, the conflicts were more like the many tiny balls of mercury in an old-fashioned fever thermometer of that era. They resisted being gathered together and analyzed. The disparate nature of Chihuahua, from the megapolis of Ciudad Juárez to the villages of the llanos and the isolated heights of the Sierra Madre, resist generalization. Such is the challenge of Chihuahua.

### Emptiness

According to Lister and Lister, by 1910, 95.5% of Chihuahua's population owned no land. Seventeen persons owned two-fifths of the state - "soil, water, and animals."<sup>348</sup> Over the first two decades of the twentieth century, for the average rural Chihuahuense, the promise of the revolution seemed less likely to be fulfilled. The Villistas, who had such an influence on Chihuahua, never were

---

<sup>345</sup> Marak, 'The Failed Assimilation', pp. 415-418.

<sup>346</sup> Marak, 'The Failed Assimilation', p. 429.

<sup>347</sup> Aguilar Camín and Meyer, *In the Shadow of the Mexican Revolution*, pp. 116-118; Alicia Gojman de Backal, 'Los Camisas Doradas en la Época de Lázaro Cárdenas', *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies/Revue canadienne des études latino-américaines et caraïbes*, 20.39/40 (1995), pp. 39-64 (p. 40).

<sup>348</sup> Lister and Lister, *Chihuahua Storehouse of Storms*, p. 176.

interested in the distribution of land except to provide resources for the hacendados who supplied them with material to sustain their war effort.<sup>349</sup>

Chihuahua is the largest state in Mexico in terms of land area. Space for population growth was not a problem. Besides its vast expanses of rugged and desert terrain, Chihuahua's significant challenge was that in 1940, the state had two-hundred-seventy-six landowners who owned over 10,000 acres, more than any other state in Mexico. With forty-six landowners (including individuals and corporations) owning over 40,000 acres of land, Chihuahua was second in rank only to Coahuila.<sup>350</sup>

In many ways, Chihuahua was a relic of a hacienda-type agricultural state, with vast amounts of non-productive and empty land in only a few modern-day hacendado's hands. Wasserman states, that "Chihuahua's Porfirian elite headed by the Terrazas-Creel family was the strongest and most homogeneous state elite in Mexico."<sup>351</sup> In much of his writing he points out how these and other hacendado families were able to overcome opposition and maintain this status through the late-revolutionary period and beyond.

The rapid population growth in Chihuahua that began in the 1920s and 1930s put tremendous strain on state infrastructure – railroad and general transportation, agricultural fields and fences devastated by armies, and rural villages already severely damaged by the revolution. During this period of growth, vast swaths of prime Chihuahua grazing and growing land remained

---

<sup>349</sup> Eric R. Wolf, *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), pp. 36-37. In the second decade of the twentieth century, neither the Villistas nor the government of on again and off again Governor Ignacio Enriquez had any interest in land distribution. Enriquez was a strong supporter of private ownership.

<sup>350</sup> Whetten, *Rural Mexico*, p. 593.

<sup>351</sup> Wasserman, 'Strategies for Survival of the Porfirian Elite', p. 93 Mark Wasserman, 'Enrique C. Creel: Business and Politics in Mexico, 1880-1930', *Bus. Hist. Rev.*, 59.4 (1985), 645-62



in the hands of a few foreign-owned corporations.<sup>352</sup> This chart indicates the state's population grew more than 55% in the 1920s and 1930s, from 401,622 to 623,944.<sup>353</sup>

**Figure 7 Chihuahua Population Growth from 1921 to 1940**

Data Point	1921	1930	1940	1921 to 1940
Population	401,622	491,792	623,944	-
Population Growth	-	90,170	132,152	222,322
Growth Percentage	-	22.45%	26.87%	55.36%

Throughout the 1930s, there was tremendous pressure on the hacendado-like Anglo individual and corporate landholders as increasingly vocal campesino demanded that their promises and rights to their natural patrimony be honored. With few exceptions, these demands were not met, especially by a Chihuahua state government heavily biased toward private land ownership and the development of the middle class.

Perhaps the many minor yet violent confrontations explain the disparity that my research discovered between the population of Chihuahua as a percent of the whole country and the number of militias stationed here. In 1938 Mexico had a population of 19,900,000.<sup>354</sup> The population of Chihuahua was approaching 623,944 (See **Figure 7**, p. 113). A quick calculation reveals that Chihuahua, therefore, had only 3.1% of the population of Mexico. In 1938, approximately 18% of

<sup>352</sup> Noé G. Palomares Peña, *Proprietarios norteamericanos y reforma agraria en Chihuahua: 1917-1942*, Colección Estudios regionales, 5 (Ciudad Juárez: Universidad Autónoma de Cd Juárez, 1991), pp. 111-145.

<sup>353</sup> *Quinto Censo de Población 1930. Tabulados básicos. Superficie y densidad de los estados unidos mexicanos por entidades federativas. Censos de 1900, 1910, 1921 y 1930*  
<[https://en.www.inegi.org.mx/programas/ccpv/1930/#Tabular\\_data](https://en.www.inegi.org.mx/programas/ccpv/1930/#Tabular_data)>;  
<[https://en.www.inegi.org.mx/programas/ccpv/1940/#Tabular\\_data](https://en.www.inegi.org.mx/programas/ccpv/1940/#Tabular_data)>.

<sup>354</sup> Statista, *Population of Mexico 1800-2020* <<https://www.statista.com/statistics/1066995/population-mexico-historical/>>.

all militia (soldiers and rurales)<sup>355</sup> units in Mexico were focused in Chihuahua.<sup>356</sup> Granted, Chihuahua is the largest land mass state in the country. Officials sought to quash the independent and rebellious Chihuahuense nature that was exhibited from 1892 in Ascension, Ojinaga, and Tomóchi through the revolutionary years, to the many isolated events across the state from 1929 to 1940. In an unusual move for a country with a developing sense of nationalism, federal troops were also used to protect non-citizen Mennonite settlers who were at risk from angry Mexicans over their loss of lands.<sup>357</sup>

Federals sought to fill in the empty spaces in Chihuahua by encouraging both foreign investment and migration. They were partly successful, but in so doing created tensions that would endure for decades.

### Silence

Lomnitz, in his study of the lack of public voice of those living in the hamlets of Morelos, refers to them and those like them as “silent Mexico.”<sup>358</sup> This term is also apt for the longitudinal history of the villages of Chihuahua as well, especially in the late-revolutionary years including the 1930s, even though they are more than a thousand miles from Morelos.

---

<sup>355</sup> This designation of militia does not include those designated as “guardias blancas” or white guards. These were privatized groups in the employ of hacendados or others with similar resources to protect their property or other personal assets. They were sometimes considered more like thugs than soldiers. For an example, see the reference in chapter four to the confrontation between ejidatarios and “white guards” from the Hearst Babicora estate in south-central Chihuahua.

<sup>356</sup> Thomas Rath, ‘Camouflaging the State: The Army and the Limits of Hegemony in PRIlista Mexico, 1940-1960’, in *Dictablanda*, ed. by Gillingham and Smith, pp. 89–107 (p. 91).

<sup>357</sup> Calvin W. Redekop, *The Old Colony Mennonites: Dilemmas of Ethnic Minority Life* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1969), p. 257 Appendix D; Martina Will, ‘The Mennonite Colonization of Chihuahua: Reflections of Competing Visions’, *The Americas*, 53.3 (1997), 353–378 (p. 362).

<sup>358</sup> Lomnitz-Adler, *Deep Mexico*, p. 286.

Much of Chihuahua is silent by the very topography of the land. The vastness of the land, mountains, valleys, and especially, the desert are home to a deafening silence. In *A History of Silence*, Corbin quotes Chateaubriand as depicting “the desert as a vast silence of desolation born of despotism. . . . the desert still seems mute with terror”<sup>359</sup> So it is with the Chihuahuan Desert which covers large portions of Chihuahua and the southwestern states of the United States.

Early in that decade, Chihuahua took a double economic hit via a severe and violent drought impacting agricultural and livestock production and the worldwide depression closing businesses and causing staffing reductions. Farm machinery, factories, and businesses of all kinds fell silent.<sup>360</sup> By the mid-1930s, North America’s two largest lumber mills, located in northwest Chihuahua (Madera and Pearson/Mata Ortiz), ceased to exist. Their gigantic saws became silent as what was a vast forestry industry largely fell silent.<sup>361</sup>

Chihuahua’s huge mining enterprises suffered terribly in the early 1930s. The mining crisis was significant, from Parral in the south to Madera in the northwest and Villa Ahumada in the northeast. Aboites informs us that the towns of San Francisco del Oro and Cusiuhiriáchic almost disappeared from the map.<sup>362</sup> In many cases, their immense drills fell silent. The causes of this collapse were several.

In earlier decades, mining in Mexico managed to survive because it could shift production focus to whatever metal in the world market was strong.<sup>363</sup> The world-wide economic collapse in

---

<sup>359</sup> Francois René de Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*, Guy Barthélemy, ‘L’Orient par l’oreille’, Colloque sur Chateaubriand, 9 December 2006, études-romantiques.ish-lyon.cnrs.fr, p. 4 in Alain Corbin, *A History of Silence: from the Renaissance to the Present Day* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2018), p. 22.

<sup>360</sup> Aboites Aguilar, *Breve historia de Chihuahua*, pp. 149-152.

<sup>361</sup> O’Connor and Parks, *They Called it Pearson*, pp. 641-642.

<sup>362</sup> Aboites Aguilar, *Breve historia de Chihuahua*, p. 149.

<sup>363</sup> Sandra Kuntz Ficker, ‘La Minería’, in *Las exportaciones mexicanas durante la primera globalización, 1870-1929*, ed. by Sandra Kuntz Ficker, 1st edn (México DF: El Colegio de México Centro de Estudios Históricos, 2010), 163–236 (pp. 168, 172-173).

the 1930s prevented this practice from protecting the industry. Referring to the mining industry in Chihuahua in the depression years of the 1930's, the Listers bemoaned, "there was a gradual cessation of activity."<sup>364</sup> The percentage of overall foreign investment in mining in Mexico was between 95-97% of the total.<sup>365</sup> The mining industry in Mexico suffered when the world economic crisis prevented that level of investment from continuing. Wasserman states, "By 1930, Chihuahua was once again in a full depression."<sup>366</sup>

On November 24, 1934, by order of Governor Rodrigo M. Quevedo, all church bells in Chihuahua were silenced. Bell towers were turned into watchtowers and bulwarks from which to enfilade the "enemy," whoever that may be. Those of all faiths had to lock their church doors to public worship.<sup>367</sup> Before that, on October 25, 1934, based on accusations of propaganda and sedition against revolutionary "ideals and programs," officials of the state of Chihuahua, with approval from the federal government, forbade all Catholic priests to perform their duties in that state.<sup>368</sup> It was not just the Catholic Churches in Chihuahua that were closed (See **Figure 10**, p 183). Two days earlier, the state government canceled all permits for all ministers of any faith to officiate in their respective churches.<sup>369</sup>

On September 9, 1935, the presses of one of Chihuahua's two primary newspapers fell silent. *El Correo de Chihuahua*, a longtime and popular newspaper founded by Silvestre Terrazas in

---

<sup>364</sup> Lister and Lister, *Chihuahua Storehouse of Storms*, p. 293-296.

<sup>365</sup> Kuntz Ficker, 'La Minería', pp. 175-176. Ficker points out that Mexico was able to sustain the investment in mining in the 1920s, but not past that decade.

<sup>366</sup> Mark Wasserman, 'Strategies for Survival of the Porfirian Elite in Revolutionary Mexico: Chihuahua during the 1920s', *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 67.1 (1987), 87-107 (p. 95).

<sup>367</sup> 'Mormon Churches in Mexico are Closed', *The Brownsville Herald*, 25 November 1934, p. 2.

<sup>368</sup> '2 Mexican States act to Bar Priests: Colima Expels Catholic Clergy and Chihuahua Forbids Them to Officiate', *New York Times*, 25 October 1934.

<sup>369</sup> 'Se Cancelan Permisos a Sacerdotes', *El Herald de Brownsville*, 22 November 1934, p. 1.

1901, was closed forever by a judge's order for an "unpaid debt."<sup>370</sup> Terrazas was a longtime supporter of the Catholic church in Chihuahua in its struggle against anticlericalism. He published several newspapers in support of the Church. He also was a staunch supporter of Francisco Villa against the Constitutionals. Although he was a member of the influential Terrazas clan, these actions on his part most likely led to the forced closure of the newspaper he edited and owned. This closure led to one more silenced voice informing the public about the state's random acts of violence after 1935.

As will be seen in chapter four, in the mid-1930s, school bells all over the state also fell silent. Catholic, Protestant, LDS, and Mennonite schools were closed for varying periods for not complying with state and federal curriculum requirements. Even worse for the faithful, some Catholic schools were closed, and their facilities were converted to government schools. These moves by the government led to violence as the Catholic faithful protested the loss of their facilities and pedagogical freedom.<sup>371</sup>

While the silences created by contemporary circumstances in Chihuahua in the early 1930s are important to consider, perhaps even more so is the silence that has attended the participants and events after they occurred.<sup>372</sup> It was not simply forgetting or loss of memory, but a deliberate

---

<sup>370</sup> Silvestre Terrazas Papers, Circa 1883-1944, *BANC MSS M-B 18: Biography* (Berkeley) <[https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/tf2q2n99qr/entire\\_text/](https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/tf2q2n99qr/entire_text/)>.

<sup>371</sup> Harold Benjamin, 'Revolutionary Education in Mexico', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 182 (1935), 181-189. This is a contemporaneous account of the history of education in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (through 1935) in Mexico. Benjamin was a professor of education. He therefore offers both a historical overview and insight into educational theory.

<sup>372</sup> Keane, *The Field*, p. 76. Silence as a social construction is well-illustrated in the aforementioned drama by Keane. At one point the local Irish priest excoriates his parishioners with the following warning regarding their collective silence in the face of a local murder, "I will place this parish under interdict and then there will be a silence more terrible than the first. The church bell will be silent: the Mass bell will not be heard; the voice of the confessional will be stilled and in your last moment will be the most dreadful silence of all for you will go to face your Maker without the last sacrament on your lips . . . and all because of your silence now." Powerful words, yet the socially constructed silence depicted in the play was never broken.

and purposeful act. It was a social construction that served those involved. Winter encapsulates such silence in terms of three different impulses: liturgical, strategic, and essentialist silence.<sup>373</sup>

For the purpose of this thesis, the most significant of the three is the liturgical which Winter connects with the sacred.<sup>374</sup> While our understanding of the causes of both Cristiadas has broadened, there can be no doubt that there was strong religious engagement on the part of those who fought to protect and, perhaps more often, restore their religious rights. These were self-evident on the part of many as natural, customary rights were essential to their patrimony as Mexicans in any given locale.

In fact, many contemporary sources stem from those who valued the sacred doctrine, devotion, and, yes, history of their particular group. They are polemicists, those who, in their writings, mounted the bulwarks and defended their ideological constructs. They included non-religious ideologies, such as those emanating from labor groups, teachers, political parties, or those like the Sinarquistas who transcended individual frameworks.

In primary sources, there is also evidence of the need to defend the sacrality of their group and mission, whether Mormon, Mennonite, Protestant, Catholic, Sinarquista, or even that of the 1930s Camisas Doradas. Where there were conflicts within the group, instances of bad choices or behavior, potential embarrassment, or what Winters deems the “family secrets,” the record is essentially justification, denial, or silence.<sup>375</sup>

---

<sup>373</sup> Jay Winter, ‘Thinking about Silence’, in *Shadows of War: A social history of silence in the twentieth century*, ed. by Efrat Ben-Ze'ev, Ruth Ginio and J. M. Winter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 3–31 (pp. 4–8).

<sup>374</sup> Winter, pp. 4, 19, 30.

<sup>375</sup> Winter, pp. 10, 22. Winter deems this silence as a “morally charged domain” and provides for the reader an example of the same in the book “Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs*.” This massive collection of deaths is a huge book, in large part written to commemorate the many Anabaptist (Mennonite) martyrdoms that resulted from their opposition to the Catholic church in the early and mid-sixteenth century. These same Mennonites are the ancestors of those who migrated to Mexico beginning in the 1920s. For the use of the term “family secrets,” see p. 22.

Historical silence quiets voices, the voices of the everyday person. They may find an agent in their actions when fortunate or unfortunate enough to have them recorded.<sup>376</sup> Shipps described the role of Mormon history in western historiography as that of a doughnut hole where scholars write all around it, leaving a silence regarding Mormon history.<sup>377</sup> So it is with the violence of La Segunda in Chihuahua. It is my goal to write about the hole. The fact that between eighty to ninety most likely died during the disparate conflicts specifically mentioned in this study of Chihuahua instead of hundreds or thousands is no reason for their story not to be told. . . . and remembered.<sup>378</sup>

This quietude is a form of liturgical silence that also may defend, avoid, prolong, or protect. In this sense, the silence of sources about La Segunda in Chihuahua is not the absence of meaning. Still, such a lack of information in itself may teach us about the events, the individuals, and the groups involved in the conflicts.<sup>379</sup> This thesis is intentionally designed to interrupt that silence in a manner that honors yet pulls the curtain back on the liturgical silence of all parties. I will suggest a tiny microcosm of a comparison with what Snyder has written about regarding a war another continent

---

<sup>376</sup> Corbin, *A History of Silence*, p. 94. Corbin provides the historian with a helpful insight as to the various forms of silences. “The historian must distinguish between imposed silences, deliberate silences, implicit silences, instrumentalized silences, and those that were a result of the lack of mastery of the spoken word; nor should we forget the refusal of the elites to record peasant speech, regarded as impoverished, inept, even incomprehensible.” In 1930s Chihuahua there were most likely examples of each. This offers a comparative perspective between Corbin’s native French villages and those of 1930s rural Chihuahua.

<sup>377</sup> Jan Shipps, *Sojourner in the Promised Land: Forty years among the Mormons* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), p. 21.

<sup>378</sup> I make this estimate by excluding the deaths in the several major escobarista rebellion battles in the Jimenez area of Chihuahua in March and April 1929. I did include those from the small, yet important Escobarista Battle of Malpaís in 1929. Including the several thousand who died in the Jimenez battles would skew the data obtained from the many local events on which this thesis focuses. As will be shown in chapter three, with some certainty, I estimate the death in the Camargo event at ten killed. With provisional certitude, I hold to a higher estimate of deaths in the Camargo episode, possibly as many as twenty-five to forty in this one episode. I base this on the several reports of machine-gunning in the crowded plaza and the immediate removal of many of the dead bodies as reported in the majority of sources as well. I will, however, use the lower estimate to arrive at my calculation of the total killed in the events reported in this study in **Figure II**, p. 257.

<sup>379</sup> Carlos Chavira Becerra, *Atras Quedo la Huella* (México D.F.: E.P.E.S.S.A, 1983). It took many years for Chavira to openly write about his early years, especially the Camargo event which will be discussed in later chapters. As noted in fn. 622, p. 192, he rarely discussed these events with his children. That silence may serve many purposes for the one involved in and impacted by such events.

and decade away from La Segunda, “No matter which technology was used the killing was personal . . . . Each one of them died a different death since each one of them had lived a different life.”<sup>380</sup>

## Violence

Wasserman clearly states, “Violence, in fact, was endemic in the Mexican countryside throughout the period from 1920-1940.”<sup>381</sup> Chihuahua was no exception to this reality. While the violent events in Chihuahua were not large-scale in terms of their size, they were evident in all parts of the state, from the Barranca to the borderlands.

During the military-centered revolutionary years (1910-1920), the robust Chihuahuense cattle industry was decimated by theft, military consumption, and lack of pasture.<sup>382</sup> Then, tensions in Chihuahua were exacerbated in the late 1920s and early 1930s as Chihuahuense agrarian interests suffered from droughts and a lack of available fertile land for local farmers to grow crops. The 1929 drought had a powerfully negative effect on agricultural production in the state.<sup>383</sup> As previously noted, Chihuahua is a place of rugged topography, harsh climate, and violent changes in weather. Each of these played varying roles in the tensions and failures in the early years of this thesis’ focus.

The state’s population proliferated in the later years of the revolution, the 1920s and 1930s. This also caused significant stress in terms of resource allocation and distribution. This population increase creates the need for growth of opportunity in the workforce. It increased pressure on the

---

<sup>380</sup> Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin* (New York: Basic Books, 2010).

<sup>381</sup> Wasserman, ‘Strategies for Survival of the Porfirian Elite’, p. 92.

<sup>382</sup> For a brief, but useful history of Chihuahua in the early 1930s, see the abovementioned Aboites Aguilar, *Breve historia de Chihuahua*.

<sup>383</sup> Aboites Aguilar, *Breve historia de Chihuahua*, p. 149.



government to repair devastated infrastructure, land redistribution, and reform in order to create greater opportunities for the growing populace.

This competition for resources and rights in Chihuahua was intense, especially given the unique situation of an influx of returning Mexicans due to repatriation and the arrival and economic success of Anglo outsiders. Due to the rapid arrival in early 1930s Chihuahua of 500,000 Mexican citizens returning due to repatriation from the United States, the loss of more than 20,000 mining jobs in the state, and drought conditions creating terrible harvests, the competition for resources and resulting tensions in Chihuahua was great.<sup>384</sup>

Understanding the types of violence related explicitly to the passion for patrimony in the 1930s in Chihuahua is essential to this thesis.<sup>385</sup> The concept of “violence” for the faithful of any group may be overly broad, especially the faithful of a group such as Catholicism that experienced centuries of virtual hegemony in Mexico. The term may then be used to refer to those who proselytize for converts from one group to another, especially the dominant group.

They are seen as committing “violence” to that group’s power and authority. Intimidation, violence or threats of violence may also be used to keep the faithful from participating in a process that might lead to their conversion.<sup>386</sup> In this regard, Mennonites were not often referred to with

---

<sup>384</sup> Andrae M. Marak, ‘Federalization of education in Chihuahua’, *Paedagogica Historica*, 41.3 (2005), 357–375 [accessed 29 July 2023] (p. 368); Aboites Aguilar, *Norte precario*, p. 240. Estimates vary of the number of returnees. Marak projects there were 500,000; Aboites puts the number at 300,000.

<sup>385</sup> André Oseguera and Rodríguez López (eds), *Pluralismo y Religión en Chihuahua Estudios Sobre el Conflicto Religioso* (México D.F.: Secretaría de Cultura Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2016); Savarino Roggero, *El Conflicto Religioso en Chihuahua*, p. 78.

<sup>386</sup> Lewis R. Rambo, and Charles E. Farhadian (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Religious Conversion*, Oxford Handbooks (2014; online edn, Oxford Academic, 1 May 2014), <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195338522.001.0001>. Based on extensive research covering all aspects of the impact of religious conversion, including violence and the threat of violence, this is a classic work on the subject. In 1972 the author took part in a summer camp in Reynosa, south of the Rio Grande in the northern state of Tamaulipas. The event was sponsored by the First Baptist church in Edinburg, Texas. One priest told the children of his border parish that he would cut off the ears of any who attended the camp. This struck me as eerily similar to the violence threatened and sometimes committed against schoolteachers during the 1930s who were seen as committing violence against the patrimonial status quo.

malice as was the growing influence of Protestants, Masons, and Liberals. This was specifically because Mennonites historically did not proselytize and were therefore not seen as potentially “violent” to the dominant Catholic faith. They were more often seen as objects of curiosity and a people of strange beliefs, practices, and customs (see pp. 161-163).

Violence is most often used to refer to physical violence of all sorts, including violence to people, buildings, properties, archives, reputations, and icons. Pansters defines violence as “the intentional use of force that causes harm or injury to others in order to impose one’s will. There are thus three constitutive elements of violence: intentionality, the inflicting of physical injury, sometimes leading to death or psychological harm, and the pursuit of ends beneficial to the perpetrator.”<sup>387</sup> Without disagreeing with this definition, I would suggest that I do not believe violence requires physical injury, especially when used in the form which has been defined as symbolic violence.

Violence may be seen as existing when there is conversion of a member of one dominant group to another, such as from one church to another, in the destruction of a church, in a threat to existing dogma, or loss of prestige, power, or authority of the dominant group. In this sense, the word “violence” runs the risk of being overused, depending on the perspective or risk to the one using the term.

The triggers or causations for violence are varied and complex. The causal factors and contexts are rarely seen in isolation. Ceccato deems them as geographic, socioeconomic, cultural, and lifestyle in nature.<sup>388</sup> Each of these contexts were present in 1930s Chihuahua. I highlight the

---

<sup>387</sup> Wil G. Pansters, ‘Zones of State-Making: Violence, Coercion, and Hegemony in Twentieth-Century Mexico’, in *Violence, Coercion, and State-Making in Twentieth-Century Mexico*, ed. by Pansters, pp. 3-39.

<sup>388</sup> Vania Ceccato, ‘The geographic, socioeconomic, and cultural determinants of violence’, in Peter D. Donnelly, and Catherine L. Ward (eds), *Oxford Textbook of Violence Prevention: Epidemiology, Evidence, and Policy*, Oxford Textbooks (Oxford, 2014; online edn, Oxford Academic, 1 Nov. 2014), 77-86, <https://doi.org/10.1093/med/9780199678723.003.0011>.

work done in footnotes 388 and 389 because it brings to light all of these uses of the term violence when discussing religious conflicts in Chihuahua. The effort described in the Oseguera and López work comes out of a project that was deemed “The Violence in the North of Mexico,” and “Alternative Religions in the North of Mexico,” specifically referring to the violence and conflicts that have come out of the increasing pluralism and religious change/violence in Mexico’s north.

In Chihuahua, what has been called geographical violence was impacted or caused by place or location, topography (desert, mountains, vast empty distances), climate, weather, disaster, boundaries, borders, or sudden and unexpected loss.<sup>389</sup> The very nature of the harsh, desolate, and rugged land and location that is Chihuahua creates a ready potential for this geographical violence.<sup>390</sup> As Corbin simply and eloquently stated, “Places and sounds weigh on people.” Referring to desert, he further states, that in addition to its solitude and beauty, “It was at the same time deadly.”<sup>391</sup>

The snows of the heights of the Sierra Madre are silent, yet also may be deadly. The same is true for its dangerous reptiles, ravines, quicksand, arroyos, and monsoon rains in much of Chihuahua.<sup>392</sup> These geographical factors, whether by either nature, or triggered by the above causes and perpetrated by humans, have been recognized from the early eighteenth century in the writings of Montesquieu to recent times in the works of Morgan and Bennion.<sup>393</sup>

---

<sup>389</sup> Ceccato, 'The geographic, socioeconomic, and cultural determinants of violence, np.' This article describes many of these aspects of geographical violence. For example, there is an entire section on evidence for climate and weather impacts on violence. Unfortunately, the online version of the article does not contain page numbers. This article also lists locations for the highest number of homicide events in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. It names Juarez, Chihuahua as the highest location of all its listings (using WHO statistics) in the United States, Latin America, and Africa at 148 homicides per 100,000 members of the population. It could be suggested that this trend of violence in northern Chihuahua began in the armed revolutionary period and has continued to escalate into the present. This study would be interesting but is beyond the scope of this thesis.

<sup>390</sup> Simon Springer, Philippe Le Billon, “Violence and Space: An Introduction to the Geographies of Violence,” *Political Geography*, vol. 52, (2016), 1-3, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2016.03.003>.

<sup>391</sup> Corbin, *A History of Silence*, pp. 17, 24.

<sup>392</sup> Simpson, *The Ejido*, p. 148.

<sup>393</sup> Morgan, ‘Columbus, New Mexico, and Palomas, Chihuahua’; Janet Bennion, *Desert Patriarchy: Mormon and Mennonite Communities in the Chihuahua Valley* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2004); Charles de

As previously noted, the decade of the 1930s was ushered in with a terrible drought.<sup>394</sup> Chihuahua's harsh and variable climate has regularly caused human, agricultural, and livestock loss. Human adaptation to these variables has created conflicts between various groups competing for resources or a place to live as their own with adequate resources to provide for the family. Chihuahua is a state rich in natural resources, while in many places, poor in those resources necessary to provide for a family. Hence, the Chihuahuense is often heard referring to the effort to produce a living from the soil as "la lucha" (the fight).

Chihuahua has the longest border with the United States of any Mexican state.<sup>395</sup> Throughout its history it has been both blessed and cursed by this advantageous and dangerous border location.<sup>396</sup> Migrations both ways have been frequent and have caused conflicts and violence in both countries. In the 1930s, the return to Chihuahua of both Mormons (from their 1912 exodus) and hundreds of thousands of braceros are but two examples mentioned in this thesis. Smuggling has been routine due to the vast emptiness of the border. Whether arms to Spanish civil war refugees, guns to Mormons, or the drug trade (primarily opium and alcohol), smuggling was a cause for constant tensions and danger on the border.<sup>397</sup>

---

Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, Cambridge texts in the history of political thought, Books 14-18, 21, Anne M. Cohler, Basia K. Miller and Stone, Harold Samuel, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 231-208, 354-378; Amanda K. Hurley, *Climate Change Will Not Make Us Nicer* (2018), <<https://www.wired.com/story/climate-change-will-not-make-us-nicer/>>. Each of these sources focuses on some aspect of how climate and topography may foster conflict and potential violence in a people.

<sup>394</sup> Aboites, *Breve historia*, p. 149.

<sup>395</sup> The author determined this by using the Google Earth® map of the border area. I measured the length of both the Sonorensense and Chihuahuense border with the United States. The latter border was the longer of the two.

<sup>396</sup> Amber Pariona, World Facts, "The Most Dangerous Borders in the World, 2019", <https://www.worldatlas.com/contributor/amber-pariona>. Pariona names the US/Mexico border the fourth most dangerous international border in the world. Both economic opportunity and danger have characterized this border for a century or more.

<sup>397</sup> Ioan Grillo, "Mexican Cartels: A Century of Defying U.S. Drug Policy." *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 20, no. 1 (2013): 253-65, pp. 254-255.

My research reveals two primary types and two sub-types of violence related to the quest for patrimony during the period covered by this thesis. Each one is a factor at some point in the various violent events included in the analysis. In studying these microevents, I will draw from this list to explain the type or form of violence my analysis deems appropriately applied to them. Then I will come to a provisional conclusion as to whether or not that specific conflict successfully achieved the results desired by those involved.

Violence as a product of basic banditry, robbery, or criminal conduct, where it can be clearly identified as such, for example crime committed as part of liquor, drug, or casino violence in Juárez is excluded from this analysis. I would add to this the exclusion of violence of a vengeance nature.<sup>398</sup> These exceptions require a subjective determination. I will, however, do my best to eliminate random or impulsive acts of violence dependent on a larger context, purpose, or intent. It is important to note as well that the violence analyzed in Chihuahua in the 1930s was not what Nirenberg deems a collection of “historicized morality tales” wherein it is easy to label or determine who is good and who is bad.<sup>399</sup> There was plenty of violence on all sides of issues in 1930s Chihuahua. There were no white or black hats.

Whether fought over water or liturgy, no one was exempt from being either a victim or perpetrator. Concurrently, there can be no whitewashing or banning. There were few villains and even fewer heroes in these types of conflicts.<sup>400</sup> Small-scale violence permeated the conflicts in all parts of Chihuahua. Blaming, maligning, excusing, ignoring, or stereotyping have no place in a

---

<sup>398</sup> L. H. Grobbink, J. J. L., & van Marle, H. J. C., “Revenge: An Analysis of Its Psychological Underpinnings.” *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 59(8), 2015, 892-907. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0306624X13519963>. This article provides a thorough review of the roots of vengeance as a motivation for violence.

<sup>399</sup> David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2015), p. viii.

<sup>400</sup> Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, pp. viii-x. Although Nirenberg writes of conflicts of another century and continent, I find his insight into violence, especially that of a religious nature to be very useful.

thesis.<sup>401</sup> As Knight suggests, “Violence may be a serious problem and an important topic for analysis, but to understand violence we need to look at particular cases in particular contexts.”<sup>402</sup>

That is the intent of this thesis.

For example, I will discuss the conflicts in what is known as the Third Convention Crisis, initiated in 1936 and 1937 between central Mexican mestizo members and Anglo-Mormon leaders of the Mexican Mormon Church who mostly lived in northwestern Chihuahua. This conflict was an example of the violence of the protest type. It is estimated that in this conflict, one-third of mestizo Mexican Mormons left the LDS church in protest of the refusal by the church to provide leaders who were racially mestizo. While this conflict was not physically violent, it did great violence (as will be discussed in chapter four) to the image of the success of the Mormons in converting and sustaining mestizo and Indigenous Mexicans to their faith.

The categories listed below are not intended to represent a complete listing of all manners and types of human violence. It is designed to be my categorization of the violent evidence as documented in the specific conflicts in the 1930s in Chihuahua and Sonora that this thesis addresses. I would prefer to subdivide symbolic violence into one more category, but it is not within the scope or purpose of this thesis to provide an in-depth and detailed discussion of generalized violence.<sup>403</sup> These categories will suffice for my purpose.

---

<sup>401</sup> John Gledhill, ‘Violence and Reconstitution in Mexican Indigenous Communities’, in *Violence, Coercion, and State-Making in Twentieth-Century Mexico*, ed. by Pansters, 233-251 (p. 235). Gledhill makes a point that “his primary purpose is not denunciation” in detailing the violence against the Indigenous communities of Mexico. It is in that same spirit that I detail the many occasions of violence in Chihuahua.

<sup>402</sup> Alan Knight, ‘Narco-Violence and the State in Modern Mexico’, in *Violence, Coercion, and State-Making in Twentieth-Century Mexico*, ed. by Pansters, pp. 115-134.

<sup>403</sup> For three generalized sociological studies of the types and categories of human violence, see Stathis N. Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*, Cambridge studies in comparative politics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Mary M. Cavanaugh, ‘Theories of Violence: Social Science Perspectives’, *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 22.5 (2012), 607–618. Sherry Hamby, “On defining violence, and why it matters.” *Psychology of Violence*. 7. (2017), 167-180. 10.1037/vio000117.

## Types of Violence Present in Chihuahua in the 1930s

**Symbolic** – This is a form of non-physical violence where the beliefs, cultures, ideas, and values of the majority, the powerful, or those in control are placed or forced on a person or group<sup>404</sup> It is based on the supposed legitimacy or “right to do so” of the one imposing the violence.<sup>405</sup> Symbolic violence creates an environment where an “other” is identified, ranked, diminished, or made less than to justify one’s actions, accomplish one’s goals, or exert control. It is a strategy to make someone or some group (the other) “less than.”<sup>406</sup> Symbolic violence may make a person a target of and dependent on the perpetrator without even realizing it.

It reflects a form of violence wherein someone, an adult, child, or family, loses or is threatened with the loss of rights to property, heritage, or any other personal identity. It may be prejudicial violence or a derivative of structural violence.<sup>407</sup> It is not always a form of physical violence but may lead to soul wounds (see p. 243, fn. 774).

In the 21st century in Mexico, prejudicial violence has been studied in relation to violence against women focusing “on violations of women's property rights—their ability to own and manage the individual and joint property to which they are entitled.” This loss of rights may stem from forces both internal and external to family, surrounding culture and society. It speaks to an apparent

---

<sup>404</sup> Palacios, Guillermo, ‘Postrevolutionary Intellectuals’, p. 312.

<sup>405</sup> Suruchi Thapar-Björkert, Lotta Samelius and Gurchathen S. Sanghera, ‘exploring symbolic violence in the everyday: misrecognition, condescension, consent and complicity’, *Feminist Review*, 112 (2016), 144–162. Symbolic violence has been co-opted into a variety of societal issues. I chose this article to provide the reader an understanding of the term, even though it is specific in context, that of symbolic violence against women.

<sup>406</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998). Bourdieu is credited with originating the concept of “symbolic violence.” I found this book to be an insightful introduction into his concepts and meaning, both in general and in regard to symbolic violence.

<sup>407</sup> Bandy X. Lee, *Violence: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Causes, Consequences, and Cures* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2019), pp. xi-xiv, 3-5, 123-138.

“machismo” in Mexican culture, especially during a time of turmoil and change.<sup>408</sup> It is a challenging form of violence to observe in specific events. It is more of a “day-to-day” type of violence employing “coercion and intimidation” that, according to Powell, primarily impacts everyday people in a way that seems “normative.” These are the victims and perpetrators who are the very subjects of this thesis.<sup>409</sup>

An example of this type of violence can be observed in the liminal position of Mennonites, Mormons or the plight of *acasillados* (as discussed in the Introduction), Indigenous, or those unconnected in Chihuahua. As foreigners and exclusive members of a minority religion, Mennonites and Mormons were placed in a liminal position where they were Mexican but not Mexican “enough.” So, it was for the Indigenous who were by their very nature native to the land but who, like the rural poor needed to be advanced from “backwardness” to “Mexicanized” to become contributing members of the emerging national identity.<sup>410</sup>

In 1930s Mexico, symbolic violence became more evident in the debates and conflicts over culture, ideology, beliefs and the elites’ desire to create a “new” Mexico populated by “new” Mexicans. Local communities across the country, including Chihuahua, were not ready, and in many cases not willing to cooperate with these initiatives that threatened existing community norms and patrimony inherited through the years. The attempts to create something “new” ultimately failed, both in Mexico and specifically, in Chihuahua.

---

<sup>408</sup> Carmen D. Deere, Jacqueline Contreras and Jennifer Twyman, ‘Patrimonial Violence: A Study of Women’s Property Rights in Ecuador’, *Latin American Perspectives*, 41.1 (2014), pp. 143–165 (p. 144). Further study of the impact of Mexican “machismo” in family and societal cultures related to the patrimonial rights of women would provide a needed addition to the historiography of women’s rights in Mexico.

<sup>409</sup> Kathy Powell, ‘Political Practice, Everyday Political Violence, and Electoral Processes During the Neoliberal Period in Mexico’, in Pansters, *Violence, Coercion, and State-Making*, 212-232, (pp. 212-213, 221). Gledhill, ‘Violence and Reconstitution’, p. 234.

<sup>410</sup> Amalia Gracia and Jorge Horbath, ‘Expresiones de la discriminación hacia grupos religiosos minoritarios en México’, *Sociedad y Religión*, XXIII.39 (2013), 12–53. Gledhill, *Violence and Reconstitution*, pp. 236-238.



**Power** – Exerting physical or positional force to achieve a political, positional, or ideological advantage over others.<sup>411</sup> Walter takes the definition of power violence a bit farther by stating that, beyond physical violence it may include “magic, sorcery, and the many techniques of inflicting harm by mental or emotional means. It includes psychic and spiritual harm as well as physical damage.”<sup>412</sup> It may carry with it the coerced, forced, or threatened loss of life, property, rights, resources, and in summation, patrimony.

Power violence, especially in the form of one of its subsets, **political violence** was omnipresent in Chihuahua, especially during the early years of the 1930s. Well-known are the *Camarazo* of 1930<sup>413</sup> and the assassinations between the Quevedos and their enemies in the mid-1930s.<sup>414</sup> This kind of political strife helped set the table for insecurity and instability at the highest levels of state government. It furthered the challenges for a weak state government to maintain control over events across such a large land mass (as noted, Chihuahua is the largest state by geography in Mexico).

The low population density and vast travel distances in Chihuahua enabled crime and local *jefé políticos* (political bosses, often appointed due to familial or political ties) to exert significant

---

<sup>411</sup> Torsten Menge, Violence and the materiality of power. *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 25(6), (2019), 761–786, (pp. 762-763, 769-773). <https://doi.org/10.1080/13698230.2019.1700344>. This is a very helpful article in explaining power violence. Menge does not equate power and violence as being synonymous but explains the core meaning of what is deemed specifically as the interaction of power and violence. Menge also helpfully explores the relationship between power, violence, and political violence.

<sup>412</sup> E. V. Walter, “Power and Violence,” *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 58, No. 2 (Jun., 1964), 350-360, (p. 354).

<sup>413</sup> A *Camarazo* was an act of political violence that carries much the same meaning and significance as that of a coup d’état intended to overthrow an existing government. See Wasserman, *Persistent Oligarchs*, pp. 51-52, 159-161.

<sup>414</sup> ‘Andres Ortiz Elected Chihuahua Governor: Two Die in Clashes at Juarez in Election of Government Party Candidate’, *New York Times*, 22 July 1930; ‘Mexico Backs Governor: Federal Investigator Says Almada is Legal Executive of Chihuahua’, *New York Times*, 29 June 1930; ‘Mexican State Senator Slain’, *The New York Times*, 13 March 1938; For details about other murders where Quevedo was a prime suspect, see Langston, ‘The Impact of Prohibition’, pp. 175-177.

control within their areas of influence. Both the politically appointed and the elite assumed the status of oligarchs, a form of what in another place and time might have been called feudal lords.<sup>415</sup>

The interplay of power and violence is complicated. It may be equally accurate to say that violence is a means to power; violence reflects a failure of power; and that power reflects an ability to resist change or control (what Walter deems “counterpower”).<sup>416</sup> That leads us to our second subset of power violence. **Protest violence** includes taking a passive action by removing oneself, in leaving or in refusing to engage. In contrast it might also involve confrontation or other physical action. In a religious community it might involve one leaving via conversion or simply abandoning a group’s faith. It might also be seen in forcing another to leave the group via excommunication or shunning.

There are many forms of this violence used to express anger, frustration, discontent, or some measure of maintaining personal control over another’s attempts to influence. Corbin states, “Within many communities, silence is an instrument of power.”<sup>417</sup> Walter assists us in understanding this form of protest violence by his use of the term “resistance” to change or control, a form of the aforementioned “counterpower.”<sup>418</sup>

Examples of this form of protest violence were when the Catholic Church hierarchy decided to cease all sacramental functions in 1926. Parents boycotted the public schools in the 1930s, the

---

<sup>415</sup> Wasserman, *Persistent Oligarchs*, pp. 72, 136-137, 156, 165-166. This book is a highly-regarded history of Chihuahua in the revolutionary time frame (1920-1940) highlighting the presence and persistence of the oligarchy in Chihuahua. According to Wasserman, they are represented in both the old and new elites, including those foreign-born. He highlights their use of violence to accomplish their purposes. When describing the methodologies employed by the new elites to maintain control, he includes violence in the means of coercion used as an “integral element of politics and government.” Wasserman also reveals the same thread of violence in other states as well.

<sup>416</sup> For a helpful source on this interplay, see Walter, “Power and Violence,” pp. 350-354. While this is a dated source it offers helpful insight into the relationship between power and violence. For his use of the term “counterpower,” see p. 350.

<sup>417</sup> Corbin, *A History of Silence*, p. 59. Corbin’s books provide a helpful opportunity for a European, especially French comparative perspective with Chihuahua.

<sup>418</sup> Walter, “Power and Violence,” pp. 350, 358.

ejido members of the *Association of Water Users of the Casas Grandes River* unanimously voted to withdraw from the organization in 1936, the mestizo Mormons left the LDS church in 1936, and hundreds of members of local ejidos in northwestern Chihuahua gathered in Nuevo Casas Grandes to protest the hoarding of irrigation water in 1938.

Thus, my focus on the use of the term protest violence focuses on passive resistance rather than active violence, which most likely best falls under core concept of power violence. Protest violence typically brings harm to the prestige, authority, control, or perceived power of the dominant party. In this sense, it is more often wielded by the weaker party in any given conflict. Research demonstrates that protest violence is an effective form of resistance, perhaps more so than the use of power violence.<sup>419</sup> As I relate actual accounts of violence in 1930's Chihuahua, I will attempt to assign one of these forms of violence to each.

The turmoil and inability of the federal government to exert its will in the 1930s, gave locals in Mexico and Chihuahua space to launch their own efforts to control their destiny.<sup>420</sup> Thus, a series of local conflicts exerted significant influence in a way that was disproportionate to the events themselves and helped create what has previously been cited as the “anomic north.” At the very least, by shining a light on the violence of the 1930s, I create the opportunity for “*res ipsa loquitur*,” in whatever form it manifested itself, “it speaks for itself.”

---

<sup>419</sup> Erica Chenoweth, “The Role of Violence in Nonviolent Resistance,” *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol 26, 2023, 55-77. This article highlights the value of strategies that include boycotts, strikes and protests. It also suggests that when these types of protest include power violence as a part of their operations (she deems these “violent flanks,” their overall effectiveness becomes more difficult to determine.

<sup>420</sup> Jürgen Buchenau, ‘Plutarco Elías Calles and the Maximato in Revolutionary Mexico: A Reinterpretation’, *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas*, 43.1 (2006), 229–253. The federal government in the early 1930s was weakened for a variety of reasons, but none more significant than the struggle for power and authority between the sitting president (Emilio Portes Gil, Pascual Ortiz Rubio, or Abelardo Rodríguez), the party (PNR), and the Jefe Máximo (Plutarco Elías Calles).

As previously noted, the Escobar Rebellion of 1929, a federal revolt, brought brief but intense fighting in Chihuahua. More importantly, it impacted local and state politics in Chihuahua into the mid-1930s. It deserves its own separate mention as the state's most significant military conflict during the eleven years of this thesis. Battles in Chihuahua in the spring of 1929 in Jimenez, Malpaís, from Ojinaga to Ciudad Juárez, and from Casas Grandes to the Sonora border (through the Pulpit Pass) cost thousands of lives on both sides.<sup>421</sup>

There were also related conflicts in Sonora, centered around the area north of Cananea and on the international border from Agua Prieta to Nogales and Naco.<sup>422</sup> In the latter stage of the conflict, bombs were inadvertently dropped on the border towns of Douglas and Naco in the United States, bringing US soldiers and planes to the area.<sup>423</sup> For a short time, via press accounts, this exacerbated the ever-present fear of US intervention, even of a limited nature, into northern Mexico. US soldiers guarded the border but did not attempt to intervene in the battle.

In 1929, the constitutionally elected governor of Chihuahua, Marcelo Caraveo, resigned, immediately donning his revolutionary general's uniform and fighting in battles from Jimenez in the south to Malpaís in the center and Ciudad Juárez on the border with the US.<sup>424</sup> Violence in the state

---

<sup>421</sup> Dulles, *Yesterday in Mexico*, p. 450. Quoting military sources, Dulles estimates the number of men on both sides dead, missing, wounded, and surrendered as over 6,500 in just the Battle of Jiménez.

<sup>422</sup> An interesting sidenote is that in Jimenez and Malpaís in Chihuahua and in Naco, Sonora, airplanes were used by both rebels and federals in an early attempt to bomb the opposition.

<sup>423</sup> For further information on the use of airplanes in this conflict and this first aerial bombing of US territory, see Kenneth B. Ragsdale, *Wings over the Mexican border: Pioneer Military Aviation in the Big Bend* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997).

<sup>424</sup> 12 October 2021 oral interview with Nestor Rodríguez, *History of Ejido Malpaís and the Battle of Malpaís, 1929*, Nestor Rodríguez (Rodríguez Ranch, Ejido Malpaís, Chihuahua, 2021). Nestor Rodríguez, Sr. is the former Malpaís ejido president and grandson of an eyewitness of the battle. My comments come from notes resulting from this interview, based on his recounting of his grandfather's recollections of that battle. It more or less ended in a draw between the rebels under former governor and revolutionary general, Marcelo Caraveo and the federal army under two future *Secretarios de Guerra y Marina* for the entire country of Mexico (Gilberto R. Limón Márquez, and Matías Ramos Santos). This battle occurred approximately ten miles southeast of Nuevo Casas Grandes in May 1929. The fact that the battle ended in a draw enabled the federals to continue to travel up and down through the important Chocolate Pass, and the rebels along the more rural Santa Maria River corridor. These routes provided important

because of this revolt occurred from large-scale battles in Ciudad Juárez and Jimenez to small groups of rebels seeking to take advantage of the military resources housed in lesser armed federal garrisons. The battle of Malpaís was significant as it was geographically situated to enable the victor to control the Chocolate Pass, the gateway to the important Nuevo Casas Grandes, Janos, and Ascension areas. While excluding the other Escobar battles from my data, I include those killed in the Battle of Malpaís due to the intensely local nature of the conflict, even including Mormon participants in providing supplies and moving wounded for medical treatment. (See **Figure 11**, p. 257).

The Escobar rebels were not victorious in either replacing the Callista form of federal government or achieving their goals for achieving their customary rights and lost heritage. According to the Plan de Hermosillo that guided their mission, they were fighting for rights, land, and freedom from the perceived tyranny of the Callista regime (Maximato). This rebellion was an exercise in power and payback violence mixed with a patrimonial violence mission statement. It is inaccurate to state that they shared a similar religious vision or mission because they sought an agreement with the Cristeros, still fighting farther south in Mexico. After some initial successes, like their predecessors who fought under the Plan de la Empacadora in 1912, the Escobar Rebellion failed to accomplish any of its purposes. Most of its leaders went into exile.<sup>425</sup>

---

access to important northern towns such as Nuevo Casas Grandes, Janos, Ascension, and ultimately to the important border areas, especially Ciudad Juárez. Rodriguez put his grandfather's estimate of those killed and buried in a common grave as between twenty and thirty men. We visited the grave and found evidence of human remains.

<sup>425</sup> Robert E. Quirk, J. A. Lara and Leopoldo L. y Torres, 'Prisionero de Callistas y Cristeros', *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 35.1 (1955), 129-130; Avitia Hernández, 'La narrativa de las Cristiadas', pp. 821-822. A very interesting side note to the Escobar Rebellion is an account included in the above sources that was written by Father J. Andrés Loya S.J., who ministered for years in the Rarámuri village of Cerocahui in the Barranca part of Chihuahua. Father Loya was captured by the federal forces under General Eulogio Ortiz who were fighting the Escobar rebels and was taken to Colima, Mexico to be killed because they suspected him of being a Cristero. While there he was captured by Cristero rebels who thought him a spy, creating a situation where they threatened him with death as well. Avoiding death by both groups, he was eventually returned to Chihuahua and continued his ministry. An annual festival is still held in Cerocahui, Chihuahua to honor Padre Loya.

On the other hand, during the eleven-year duration of the activities studied in the thesis, the leadership of the majority Catholic church in Chihuahua was remarkably stable. In 1921 Antonio Guízar y Valencia (deemed AGV by some scholars) was appointed Bishop of Chihuahua, the highest Catholic clerical position in the state. In 1958 he was named the first Archbishop of Chihuahua. He served in that capacity until his retirement in 1969. Bishop Guízar, in contrast to others of his peers, steadfastly refused to allow his followers to accept arms against anticlericalism in the state. He used all the tools at his disposal, including powers of persuasion and ex-communication, to threaten any who, in his concept of faith, violated their trust in God by taking up arms.<sup>426</sup>

During the governorship of Rodrigo Quevedo (1932-1936), when anticlericalism peaked in Chihuahua, Bishop Guízar y Valencia maintained firm control over the Catholic response.<sup>427</sup> He did the same when tensions increased when, in February 1937, Father Pedro de Jesús Maldonado Lucero was assaulted close to the pueblo of San Isabel, dying two days later in Chihuahua City. Father Maldonado became the first modern-era martyr and canonized saint from Chihuahua.<sup>428</sup>

Freemasonry, a fraternal movement seen by some as a competitor and by many as an enemy of the Catholic church, established a permanent presence in Chihuahua in 1882. The Grand

---

<sup>426</sup> A careful review of the literature reveals no book-length biography of the archbishop's life in either English or Spanish. For a brief summary of his life, see Gerald O'Rourke, *Antonio Guízar y Valencia: Perfil de un arzobispo* (Ciudad Chihuahua: Editorial Camino, 2006) A complete biography would be an excellent project for further research. It is sometimes recorded in documents that Antonio Guízar y Valencia was named archbishop in 1921. This was the year he was installed as bishop. There was no archbishop position in Chihuahua until 1958. Antonio Guízar y Valencia was consecrated as the first archbishop over Chihuahua in that year. Archbishop Antonio Guízar y Valencia is sometimes confused with his brother, Rafael Guízar y Valencia who served as Bishop of Xalapa (Veracruz). Rafael experienced much turmoil during the revolutionary years and was canonized by Pope Benedict XVI as St. Rafael Guízar y Valencia in 2006. For a review of his life's impact on Catholic thought in Mexico, see Félix Báez-Jorge, 'El poder y los instrumentos de la fe (San Rafael Guízar y Valencia en el entramado del catolicismo social): Un santo de carne y hueso', *Ulúa*, 22 (2013), pp. 135–174.

<sup>427</sup>For an excellent overview of Antonio Guízar y Valencia's handling of the church-state tensions in Chihuahua, see González Morfin, 'Antonio Guízar y Valencia', pp. 179-204. Guízar y Valencia was bishop over Chihuahua for almost fifty years. His record was one of a calm, yet confident leader.

<sup>428</sup>The brutal killing of Father Maldonado sent shockwaves of anger and grief throughout the Catholic community in Chihuahua. This episode will be analyzed in further detail later in this chapter.

Cosmos Lodge, which would supervise most other Chihuahuense lodges, was established in Ciudad Chihuahua in 1893.<sup>429</sup> By the 1930s, it had become a powerful influence in Chihuahua, especially among government officials. Savarino lists the Director of Public Education in Chihuahua, Luis Vargas Piñera, Governor Rodrigo Quevedo, and six other governors in the late twenties and thirties as officials who were primarily responsible for the anticlericalism of that decade.<sup>430</sup> As previously noted, it seems fair to conclude that for Savarino to be a Mason was to be anticlerical, yet at the same time, he seems to dismiss the idea of a grand conspiracy between masons and government officials.<sup>431</sup>

Dizán Vázquez seems to disagree with Savarino's conclusion, appearing to be firmly on the side that there are ties between these groups and the majority of revolutionaries:

The Revolution, as it progressed, became more violently anti-Catholic, and thus the primitive bonds between these four associations (Protestants, Masons, Liberals, and Spiritists), became closer. It is unsurprising that almost all the revolutionaries, on whatever side, wherever they went, ravaged the Catholic Church (translation mine).<sup>432</sup>

Indeed, certain Catholics saw one's affiliations as determinants of an anticlerical mindset. It may not be incorrect to say that within certain groups in 1930s Catholicism, there was as great, or more a sense of anti-Freemasonry and anti-Protestantism as vice-versa.<sup>433</sup> At any rate, conflicts between all influential groups in Chihuahua existed to demonstrate loyalty to this or that cause.

---

<sup>429</sup> Dizán Vázquez, "De la uniformidad a la diversidad religiosa en Chihuahua. Una historia de encuentros y desencuentros", in *Pluralismo y Religión en Chihuahua Estudios Sobre el Conflicto Religioso*, ed. by Oseguera and Rodríguez López, pp. 23-57 (pp. 34-35). Vázquez, a Catholic priest has served as a longtime professor of the history of the Catholic church in Chihuahua at the Autonomous University of Ciudad Juárez. He is therefore an important figure in recording of the history of the Catholic Church in Chihuahua.

<sup>430</sup> Savarino Roggero, *El Conflicto Religioso en Chihuahua*, pp. 68-69.

<sup>431</sup> Savarino Roggero, *El Conflicto Religioso en Chihuahua*, pp. 70, 86.

<sup>432</sup> Vázquez, "De la uniformidad a la diversidad religiosa en Chihuahua", p. 38.

<sup>433</sup> Savarino Roggero, *El Conflicto Religioso en Chihuahua*, p. 76.

Many of them clothed themselves with either the mantle of the revolution or, for those who had experienced frustration and disappointment, that of an anti-revolutionary mindset. In Chihuahua, these conflicts were perhaps less about ideology than a personal desire for resources, independence, and dignity.

### **Cultural Enclavements/Liminal Others**

For many years since its founding, Chihuahua has been a gateway for immigration, both into and out of Mexico. Ever since the era of Porfirian Mexico, economic improvement had come to it, or in the words of Wolf, “in the form of foreign settlers or in the form of foreign capital.”<sup>434</sup> In the case of Chihuahua, during that time and for years to come, it would be both. This door swings both north and south, depending on whether the migrant is coming into or leaving Chihuahua.

I have selected the terms “enclavements” and “liminal” to refer to many, if not most, migrants who found their way to more-or-less permanent settlements/colonies here in Chihuahua. Whether returning Mexican braceros, Mennonites, Mormons, Missionaries, Spanish Civil War refugees, Chinese, Apache, other Indigenous groups seeking a new home, South Africans or other Anglos seeking adventure or business interest, the two terms fit those often seen as Mexican, yet not Mexican enough to be considered more than an “other.” The following is a brief definition of enclavement and cultural enclave:

Thus, we are able to define an enclave as a group of individuals, territorially restricted, within a principal society, which maintains cultural differences and a characteristic sense of identity with respect to the members of the principal society within which it is politically incorporated. . . . One of

---

<sup>434</sup> Wolf, *Peasant Wars*, p. 14.



the societies refuses to be submerged and to become assimilated within the other. There has to be, in a word, a certain level of hostility or sense of vital difference among the members of the societies, in such a way that there might be resistance to the fusion of identities. . . . One of the societies, even in spite of hostility or resistance, might be capable of maintaining the boundaries between itself and the other society or societies with which it has contact."<sup>435</sup>

Whether identifying as a colony (LDS Mormons), a distinct pueblo (LeBaron Mormons), a campo (Mennonites), or a barrio (neighborhood) within a pueblo, many of those who have migrated to Chihuahua have carved out ways to live separately from, and have incurred cultural and resource conflicts with the majority mestizo Chihuahuense culture.<sup>436</sup> They are in-between (liminal), living as citizens and foreigners in a country where most made their homes but did so to live in self-imposed isolation.

As has been the case since the mid-nineteenth century through the years of the revolution and the Cristero war turmoil, the attitude and foreign policy of the United States varied significantly related to the desirability and need for US intervention in Mexico. Except for the continued discontent of large US Catholic populations, this debate had gone virtually mute by the end of the third decade of the twentieth century. Anglos indeed were to pour across the border into Chihuahua, but not to affect the kind of change brought about by “Uncle Sam’s sword,” as Baptist

---

<sup>435</sup> Edward H. Spicer, ‘El mestizaje cultural en el suroeste de Estados Unidos y noroeste de México’, *Revista de Indias*, 24 (1964), 1-26 <<https://www.proquest.com/docview/1300672211/fulltextPDF/C8D723500DAD424BPQ/1?accountid=7408>> [accessed 6 July 2023] (pp. 8-9); Edward H. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960* (Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 2020); Ralph Beals, ‘The Renaissance of Anthropological Studies in Northwestern Mexico’, in *Ejidos and Regions of Refuge in Northwestern Mexico*, ed. by N. R. Crumrine and Phil C. Weigand, Anthropological papers of the University of Arizona, no.46 (1987), pp. 95-102. Although it was first published in 1962, Spicer’s classic work on enculturation and enclavement in Southwest United States and Northwest Mexico is still the standard in the field. Beals’ article provides an extensive overview of enclavement studies and research, focusing on northwestern Mexico.

<sup>436</sup> Will, ‘The Mennonite Colonization of Chihuahua’, p. 363. Will understand that conflicts were inevitable when “federal troops were called in to defend the rights of a foreign enclave over those of the Mexican peasantry.”

preacher and jingoistic travel writer Gulian Lansing Morrill had speculated would be the need in his 1917 work *The Devil in Mexico*.<sup>437</sup>

Another concept of non-military “intervention” in Mexico by the United States was found in the concept “dollar diplomacy.” The US State Department and investment bankers cooperated in arranging and financing loans to Mexico for the purpose of furthering US economic control. In this sense the US exported financial capital which they believed would enable their control over its interests, such as in the Mexican oil fields. This policy was a success in the near term, but ultimately a failure over the next decades, such as in the time of the 1938 nationalization of Mexican oil fields.<sup>438</sup>

Years after the temporary explorations of the Spanish explorers, the first migrants coming into Chihuahua from the south and intending to stay were Catholic missionaries. These early Franciscans and Jesuits who followed the explorers into Chihuahua included many from Europe. Some were challenged to survive in the terrain of Chihuahua, while others became, in the words of Lister and Lister, “men of destiny.”<sup>439</sup> Both Catholic groups still labor for souls in Chihuahua.

Perhaps the Apache was the first group who migrated from the north and brought dramatic change to Chihuahua. They have been present in Chihuahua since sometime between 1650 and 1670, or they were here when Francisco Ibarra is said to have come to the Casas Grandes area in 1565. They came from the far north through what we know as Texas and New Mexico. They

---

<sup>437</sup> Julian L. Morrill, *The Devil in Mexico* (Chicago: M. A. Donahue, 1917), Foreword; Ruiz, *Americans in the Treasure House*, pp. 185-203. Vigorously anti-Catholic, Morrill was quite controversial and yet, in his own way influential in representing a populist and jingoistic US foreign policy in the early twentieth century, into the 1930s.

<sup>438</sup> N. S. Kane, ‘Bankers and Diplomats: The Diplomacy of the Dollar in Mexico, 1921-1924’, *The Business History Review*, 47.3 (1973), 335–52 (pp. 335-337).

<sup>439</sup> Lister and Lister, *Chihuahua Storehouse of Storms*, pp. 15-80; Zacaías Márquez Terrazas, *Misiones de Chihuahua: Siglos XVII y XVIII* (México d.f.: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y Las Artes, 2008); Peter Masten Dunne, *Early Jesuit Missions in Tarahumara* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1948); Paul M. Roca, *Spanish Jesuit Churches in Mexico's Tarahumara* (Tucson, Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 1979). Each of these sources brings its own strength to the description of Catholic missionaries and their work in all parts of the State of Chihuahua. Lister and Lister’s work, while stylized as more popular than academic, has withstood the test of time in terms for its information, more than its interpretation.

settled in Chihuahua north and west of Janos. The area around Janos and Casas Grandes was filled with Spanish heritage refugees from the Pueblo Revolt in New Mexico in the 1680s.<sup>440</sup>

It is clear that from the 1680s on, the migrants (Apache) and remnants of the Suma conflicted with Spanish refugees (from the north) and newly arriving immigrants (from the south). Natural resources were not plentiful from Janos south to Casas Grandes, so conflicts continued until the Sumas were depleted. The Apache then became the main antagonists of the Hispanic settlers and the growing mestizo population.

These conflicts continued throughout Chihuahua into the 1880s. In May 1882, a betrayal of the Apache by the Mexican army occurred just south of Casas Grandes, resulting in what may have been the largest confrontation between the two in the history of the Apache/Mexican army conflicts.<sup>441</sup> After that point, the only Apache left unassimilated in the state were small groups scattered throughout the Sierra Madre. There were sightings and minor conflicts into the 1930s in both Sonora and Chihuahua.<sup>442</sup> The two-hundred-year conflict with the Apache took a significant toll on the population of Chihuahua. It introduced a constant milieu of violence into the collective memory of the Chihuahuense, especially the rural ranchers.

---

<sup>440</sup> Lance R. Blyth, *Chiricahua and Janos: Communities of Violence in the Southwestern Borderlands, 1680-1880*, *Borderlands and transcultural studies* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012), pp. 16-26; Leopoldo H. Chávez Valenzuela, *The Patrimony of the Foundation of Casas Grandes*, *The Desert Patrimony of Chihuahua* (Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, 2023). The local Cronista in Casas Grandes, Leopoldo Horacio Chávez Valenzuela in a presentation June 2, 2023, in a Desert Patrimony conference indicated that the Querecho people who greeted Ibarra in the area of Casas Grandes in 1565 were Apache. Others, like Blyth have the Apache gradually migrating down through Texas and New Mexico in the second half of the seventeenth century.

<sup>441</sup> Philip R. Stover, *Betrayal at the Bosque de San Diego: The Mexican Army Attacks the Apache South of Casas Grandes – May 25, 1882*, *Conferencia del Desierto de Chihuahua*, Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez (Salón de Actos, Municipio de Casas Grandes, 2022).

<sup>442</sup> Blyth, *Chiricahua and Janos*; Edwin R. Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo: The Chiricahua Apaches, 1874-1886*, *The civilization of the American Indian series*, v. 268 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010); Helge Ingstad, *The Apache Indians: In search of the Missing Tribe* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2004); Grenville Goodwin and Neil Goodwin, *The Apache diaries: A father-son journey* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000). These are four excellent sources for the study of differing aspects of the Apache in Chihuahua.

The Chihuahua/US border has always been porous to illegal immigration. It has also been an active funnel for the legal variety as well. Anglo migration south has dramatically impacted Chihuahua's culture and economy for more than two centuries. There has been economic immigration motivated to provide access to the state's mines, railroads, timber, and vast grasslands.

From the early 1800s, trade routes between Santa Fe and Ciudad Chihuahua (See **Figure 8**, p. 141) facilitated the prosperity and movement of goods and people in both directions.<sup>443</sup> Beyond individuals, US corporations bought large swaths of land and resources.<sup>444</sup> These enterprises also brought Anglo American and Anglo European immigrants to the state to manage their interests. Japanese and Chinese immigrants also flooded the border.<sup>445</sup> They were specialists in providing services and goods to immigrants and natives alike. The 1883 Mexican Land and Colonization Law created liberal policies for those who wanted to colonize Mexico, including exemptions from most taxes, military service, import duties, and other obligations for ten years.<sup>446</sup>

Not all Anglos desiring to migrate to Mexico were US-based—South Africans who fought for Madero in the revolution established colonies in the southeastern portion of the state. In 1910 independent Catholic Apostolic Anglo-French migrants from Canada and France attempted a 50,000-acre homeland they named Villateville in northeastern Chihuahua.<sup>447</sup>

---

<sup>443</sup> Irene M. Franck and David M. Brownstone, *The Santa Fe Trail and the Chihuahua Trail in the 1830s – Mapping Globalization* <<https://commons.princeton.edu/mg/the-santa-fe-trail-and-the-chihuahua-trail-in-the-1830s-2/>>, used under Fair Use Policy.

<sup>444</sup> An excellent study of this migration of US citizens to Mexico is the aforementioned Ruiz, *Americans in the Treasure House*. While this book studies this movement south in the time of the porfiriato, it is relevant and of great interest to the continuing movement south during the late-revolutionary timeframe.

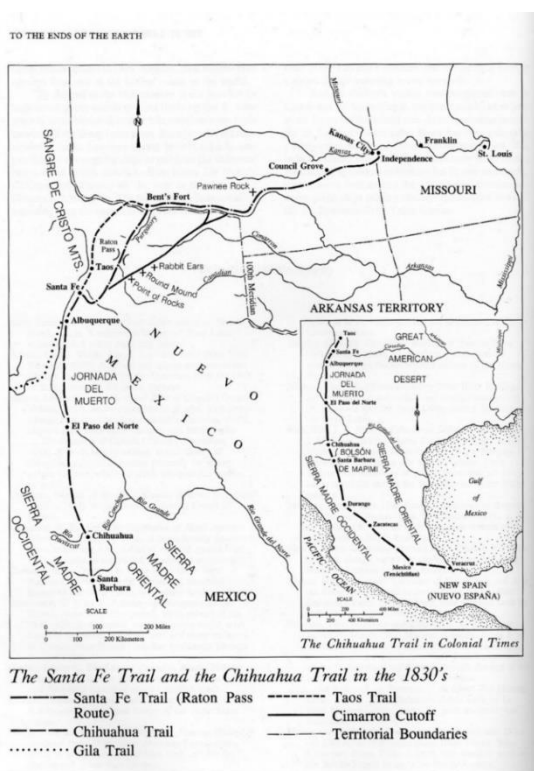
<sup>445</sup> Evelyn Hu-DeHart, 'Immigrants to a Developing Society: The Chinese in Northern Mexico, 1875-1932', *Journal of Arizona History*, Vol. 21 (1980), pp. 49-86. This article offers insight into Chinese migration into all of the northern Mexican states, including Chihuahua.

<sup>446</sup> José A. Hernández, *Mexican American Colonization during the Nineteenth Century: A history of the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

<sup>447</sup> To learn more about these groups, read Serge Thériault, *Msgr. René Vilatte: community organizer of religion, 1854-1929* (Berkeley Calif: Apocryphile Press, 2012), pp. 177-182; C. E. Campbell, *Mines, Cattle, and Rebellion: The History of the Corralitos Ranch, with an Intimate Portrait of the Mexican Revolution* (Sunset Beach CA:

From the time of the Porfiriato into the 1930s, many Anglos held a colonized and hungry gaze toward Mexico, especially its north, while at the same time holding a benevolently skeptical attitude towards the culture and people. At the same time, local Mexicans held an equally polarized outlook toward any Anglo group who sought to invade the north, even an invasion of a softer kind, as that of the Mennonites and Mormons. Unsurprisingly, some of these mutual hostilities, biases, and distrust erupted in land and resource utilization, thus fueling La Segunda's conflicts.<sup>448</sup>

**Figure 8 The Santa Fe Trail and the Chihuahua Trail in the 1830s<sup>449</sup>**



Green Street Publications, 2014); Out of Africa—via Teddy Roosevelt, a circus and Francisco I. Madero, *The Mex Files* (2010) <<https://mexfiles.net/2010/03/30/out-of-africa-via-teddy-roosevelt-a-circus-and-francisco-i-madero/>>; Lawrence D. T. Hansen, 'La colonización bóer en Chihuahua y el suroeste de Estados Unidos, 1903-1917', *Historia Mexicana*, 52.2 (2002), pp. 449–489.

<sup>448</sup> Rebecca Janzen, *Liminal Sovereignty: Mennonites and Mormons in Mexican culture* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2018). This book focuses on the migration, struggles, and conflicts of the Mennonite, Mormons, and LeBarons, each group equally liminal outsiders in Chihuahua.

<sup>449</sup> Franck, Irene M., and David M. Brownstone, *The Santa Fe Trail and the Chihuahua Trail in the 1830s—Mapping Globalization*, <https://commons.princeton.edu/mg/the-santa-fe-trail-and-the-chihuahua-trail-in-the-1830s-2/>.

A little-discussed exodus to the United States from Mexico, including Chihuahua took place during and immediately after the first Cristero War. For varying reasons, many decided to seek a safer and better life north of the border.<sup>450</sup>

On the other hand, a group negatively impacting land/work stresses in Chihuahua were those returning to their land of origin in the 1930s from the United States. The economic downturn of the worldwide depression led some to volunteer and many to have no choice in a reverse migration back to Mexico. This repatriation effort was challenging as both the US and Mexico encouraged those who were, in many cases, US citizens but of Mexican heritage to return to Mexico. Local leaders in the United States sought to eliminate Mexicans who competed for jobs, while local populations in Mexico resented their return for the same reason. Because of their proximity to the border, the northern Mexican states endured the greatest challenge in providing homes and jobs to those returnees.<sup>451</sup>

Gojman de Backal characterized Mexico in the year 1935 as a *polvorín* or powder keg. Right-wing groups formed to resist change and a reliance on the revolution. They especially opposed socialist education, anticlericalism, and anything contrary to a Mexico for Mexicans policy.<sup>452</sup> These groups shared a common interest with those seeking restoration or renewal of patrimony. Their appeal became widespread among everyday Mexicans.<sup>453</sup> This creation of a form of corporatist

---

<sup>450</sup> For an example of north-bound emigrations from Mexico, see Rodolfo Acuña, *Corridors of Migration: The odyssey of Mexican laborers, 1600–1933* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007), pp. 1–2 in Julia G. Young, *Mexican Exodus: Emigrants, Exiles, and Refugees of the Cristero War* (England, New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 18, fn. 2. In this work, Young highlighted a neglected migration northward due to the stresses of the First Cristero War and its subsequent impact on generations of Mexican emigrant communities in the USA. Quoting Rodolfo Acuña, she highlights the ways and means that migrants from Chihuahua struggled in the United States to maintain what they believed to be their unique Chihuahuense identity.

<sup>451</sup> For informative studies of the challenges facing Mexicans forced or coerced to return to Mexico in the 1930s, see the aforementioned Balderrama and Rodriguez, *Decade of Betrayal*; Young, *Mexican Exodus*.

<sup>452</sup> Gojman de Backal, 'Los Camisas Doradas', p. 44. provides both the reference to the powder keg and the appeal of the right-wing groups.

<sup>453</sup> Albert L. Michaels, 'Fascism and Sinarquismo: Popular Nationalisms Against the Mexican Revolution', *Journal of Church and State*, 8.2 (1966), 234–250 (p. 234).

state building in which those with like ideology or identity formed formal or informal groups to their economic or political advantage, had its roots in Mexico in the 1930s. De la Garza goes so far as to describe corporatist state building as “central in the Mexican history of the twentieth century.”<sup>454</sup>

In that context, there appeared to be a political net-widening that would capture, eliminate, or lessen those deemed by those in a particular group, especially Cardenistas as “others” in Mexico. These even included former powerful figures from the Maximato such as Plutarco Elías Calles, Luis León (a former governor of Chihuahua), Luis N. Morones (labor leader of CROM), and Melchor Ortega (former president of the PNR political party). Each of these leaders was exiled from Mexico in 1936. Thanks to Article 33 of the 1917 Constitution, foreigners were in great jeopardy because they could be “thirty-three” or exiled from Mexico with just twenty-four hours’ notice.<sup>455</sup>

Even President Cárdenas was not spared the wrath of some of these groups. Some characterized him as a Communist and a supporter of socialist education.<sup>456</sup> The first was a mischaracterization; the second was true, especially in the early years of his presidency. Conservative groups sprouted nationwide, one of which had especially close ties to Chihuahua.

The Camisas Doradas (Golden Shirts) or Acción Revolucionaria Mexicanista (Mexicanist Revolutionary Action or ARM) was a conservative and nationalist organization formed in 1933.<sup>457</sup> It had a strong presence in both Ciudad Chihuahua and Ciudad Juárez.<sup>458</sup> As an organization

---

<sup>454</sup> Enrique de La Garza Toledo, José L. Gayosso Ramírez and Leticia Pogliaghi, ‘Corporatism, Informality and Democracy in the Streets of Mexico City’, *Global Labour Journal*, 8.3 (2017), 219-233 <file:///E:/jadmin,+Article+-+Pogliaghi+[246]+-+PRESS+QUALITY.pdf>.

<sup>455</sup> Félix F. Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917: Tomo I* (México, 2014) <[https://inehrm.gob.mx/work/models/Constitucion1917/Resource/642/Historia\\_Constitucion\\_\\_1917\\_T\\_I.pdf](https://inehrm.gob.mx/work/models/Constitucion1917/Resource/642/Historia_Constitucion__1917_T_I.pdf)> (p. 172). The original Article 33 gave the executive the power to expel any foreigner with no hearing. In 2011, Article 33 was amended to give the foreigner the right of a hearing prior to being expelled.

<sup>456</sup> Gojman de Backal, ‘Los Camisas Doradas’, p. 45-46.

<sup>457</sup> Claire Brewster and Keith Brewster, ‘Patria, Honor y Fuerza’: A Study of a Right-Wing Youth Movement in Mexico during the 1930s–1960s’, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 46.4 (2014), 691–721 (p. 703).

<sup>458</sup> Silvestre Terrazas, former governor of Chihuahua and member of the highly influential Terrazas family was an early and influential member of ARM. For more on the life of Silvestre Terrazas, see Almada, *Diccionario Historia*, p. 526.

composed in its infancy of former villistas, its core leadership had significant roots in Chihuahua. Nicolás Rodríguez Carrasco, the head of the Camisas Doradas in Mexico, was born in Chihuahua and touted his close associations with Francisco Villa.<sup>459</sup> More important in Mexican history and with strong ties to both Chihuahua and this particular movement as one of its founders was Roque González Garza, a strong supporter of Francisco Madero, member of his presidential cabinet, former interim president of Mexico, and villista general. González Garza fought with Madero in his battles against federal forces at Casas Grandes and Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua.<sup>460</sup>

ARM intended to rid Mexico of anyone or any group they identified as harmful to its version of Mexican identity and image.<sup>461</sup> This broad brush included foreigners, Jews, and anyone they deemed Communists or Socialists, including many workers' groups such as unions.<sup>462</sup> It was an organization characterized by violence and intimidation. They became the epitome of xenophobia in Mexico and, among the 60,000 members they claimed, had a significant representation in Chihuahua.<sup>463</sup>

In 1937, Cárdenas exiled the ARM leader Rodríguez, who, from bases in El Paso and Mission, Texas, continued to work to overthrow anyone he deemed a threat to Mexico's national integrity and progression.<sup>464</sup> As late as October 1940, ARM held its annual convention in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, where their new leader, the brother of Nicolás Rodríguez, announced a march

---

<sup>459</sup> Katz, *The Life and Times of Pancho Villa*, p. 793. Katz notes that the Camisas Doradas was named after Villa's Dorados, his personal bodyguards.

<sup>460</sup> Colecciones Especiales de la Universidad Panamericana, *General Roque González Garza: Archivo, biblioteca, fototeca, hemeroteca y objetos personales del General Roque González Garza* (2013) <<https://biblio.upmx.mx/colecciones/roque.html>>.

<sup>461</sup> Michaels, 'Fascism and Sinarquismo', pp. 234-236.

<sup>462</sup> Maty Finkelman de Sommer, 'Los judíos en el estado de Chihuahua', *Revista de Humanidades: Tecnológico de Monterrey*, 16 (2004), 195-209 (pp. 203-204). This article provides a brief summary of the history of the Jewish community in Chihuahua. It notes that the only antisemitism that Jews felt in Chihuahua in the 1930s was in Ciudad Juárez as a result of literature distribution by racist organizations. The particular organizations responsible for the literature are not named.

<sup>463</sup> Gojman de Backal, 'Los Camisas Doradas', pp. 48-50.

<sup>464</sup> Gojman de Backal, 'Los Camisas Doradas', pp. 57-60.



through the state of Chihuahua on the way to Mexico City.<sup>465</sup> Such a theatrical gesture, akin to interwar fascist mobilization in Europe, demonstrated a modern edge to Chihuahua right-wing extremism. Their actions used violence of a power kind to demand conformity with their ideals of Mexico for Mexicans. Anyone who, for any reason, was identified as an “other” was targeted for abuse.

Another group that is difficult to categorize is the Sinarquista movement.<sup>466</sup> The Sinarquistas or *Union Nacional Sinarquista* were active in Chihuahua but did not have as significant an impact as in other states. They had formal organizations in both Ciudad Chihuahua and Ciudad Juárez. Their organization in Ciudad Juárez was founded in November 1937 with four hundred new adherents in attendance.<sup>467</sup> The movement also had twenty to thirty organizational committees in municipalities across Chihuahua.<sup>468</sup> This is noteworthy as Whetten states that there were “comparatively few” members of the Sinarquista Movement in the northern states of Mexico.<sup>469</sup>

While indeed of interest to the rural and middle-class Chihuahuense, Sinarquismo failed to ignite a bonfire in the state in its early years. Knight refers to Sinarquismo as “ideological antipathy” to the revolution.<sup>470</sup> This perspective could perhaps best be characterized as a symbolic form of violence. Sinarquismo was a movement of adherents looking to reclaim something they believed was lost or unfulfilled in the revolutionary movement. More than a movement, in many ways, it was

---

<sup>465</sup> La ARM hará Gran Marcha sobre Mexico, ‘Se efectuará la que proyectó su extinto jefe, Rodríguez’, *La Opinión - Los Angeles, California*, 10 October 1940, p. 8.

<sup>466</sup> Jean Meyer, *El sinarquismo, el cardenismo y la Iglesia (1937-1947)*, *Tiempo de memoria* (México, D.F.: Tusquets, 2003); Eva N. Orozco-García, ‘Las Mujeres Sinarquistas (1937-1962): Las Manos Ocultas en la Construcción del Sentimiento Nacionalista Mexicano de Derecha’ (PhD, University of Texas, El Paso, 2019).

<sup>467</sup> Notas de C. Juárez, Chih., ‘Se Fundo el “Sinarquismo”’, *La Opinión - Los Angeles, California*, 14 November 1937, p. 2.

<sup>468</sup> Hernández García de León, ‘The Sinarquista Movement with Special Reference to the Period 1934-1944’ (PhD, University of London, 1990), p. 466.

<sup>469</sup> Whetten, *Rural Mexico*, p. 501. The chapter-length analysis of Sinarquismo that contains this quote in this Whetten volume presents many in-depth details about this movement.

<sup>470</sup> Alan Knight, ‘Democratic and Revolutionary Traditions in Latin America’, *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 20.2 (2001), 147–186 (p. 179).

a lifestyle. As its Chihuahuense founders indicated, “to be a Sinarquista, it was necessary to live Sinarquismo.”<sup>471</sup>

It was a search for lost patrimony that sometimes and in some places in Sinarquista history led to violence.<sup>472</sup> However, Chihuahua played a major role in the founding of a political partner of Sinarquismo, the PAN (Partido Acción Nacional) in the late 1930s.<sup>473</sup> PAN would rise in power to exert key leadership in the political aspects of Chihuahuense life.

Manuel Gómez Marín, a native Chihuahuense from Batopilas was the founder of the Partido Acción Nacional in Mexico. Chihuahuenses were a large delegation in June 1939 at the formal founding of the organization. Carlos Chavira, who played a leading role in the 1932 violence in Camargo, one of the most violent episodes in Chihuahua that will be discussed in the next chapter, was a delegate at the founding of PAN. Cruz Villalba, the former Villista colonel and leader of violence in Chihuahua in the late 1930s in the Alamán rebellion, was a founder of PAN in Chihuahua in October 1939.<sup>474</sup> In the last thirty years, Jeffrey Max Jones, a Chihuahuense politician rose to influence as a federal senator and sub-secretary of Agriculture in the federal government. He is both a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and an ardent PAN adherent.<sup>475</sup>

Many Anglos came and went as “others,” but some always stayed, aiding and sometimes disrupting the status quo, many to this day. This characterization includes several religiously-affiliated

---

<sup>471</sup> Notas de C. Juárez, Chih. Notas de C. Juárez, Chih., ‘Notas de C. Juárez, Chih. 1937’.

<sup>472</sup> Hernández García de León, ‘The Sinarquista Movement’, pp. 163-166, 212, 235-236, 272, 357, 358. The Sinarquista Movement officially claimed to be non-violent, yet at the same time advocated, in its literature the use of terms like “martyr” and “soldier” to describe a loyal adherent. It banned the carrying of firearms. Its attitude toward violence was in itself inconsistent and conflicting.

<sup>473</sup> Young, *The Revolution is Afraid*, n.p. There has been contention over the degree of the formal alliance or partnership between the Sinarquistas and the Partido Acción Nacional (PAN). This is a subject for more analysis. As Young points out, two of the sons of Sinarquista leader Salvador Abascál served in leadership positions in PAN.

<sup>474</sup> Jesús Batista, *PAN Comité Directivo Estatal Chihuahua: Historia Nacional* (Ciudad Chihuahua, Chihuahua, 2019) <<https://www.panchihuahua.org.mx/historia>>.

<sup>475</sup> Batista, *PAN Comité Directivo Estatal Chihuahua*.

Anglo groups. The first to come into Chihuahua in the modern era were Protestant missionaries. Beginning in the 1870s, they came to northern Mexico to proselytize Chihuahuenses into their specific branch of the Protestant faith. Congregationalists and Methodists were among the first to come into the state in large groups. Both had success in the Guerrero District and Chihuahua City.<sup>476</sup>

Later in the early 1900s, Pentecostals focused on proselytizing in the state's borderlands and with the Indigenous population. These Protestants tended to strive to blend into the culture, living in the cities and towns in middle-class areas. Ardent defenders of the Catholic faith resisted their efforts, and violence occasionally resulted. Protestants, Masons, and liberals became the groups most mentioned as putting the Catholic faith at risk. By the 1930s, such violence among these groups was rare. To a large degree, most Protestant groups succeeded in integrating into the larger culture.<sup>477</sup>

More than 2,000,000 hectares of land in northwestern Chihuahua was bought, sold, and resold between six large entities over these years: The Mexican Colonization and Agricultural Company (for the LDS church), The Northwestern Chihuahua Colonization and Improvement Company (a company controlled by Luis Huller through various shareholders), Luis Huller as a

---

<sup>476</sup> Harrison Olcott, 'Las Hijas de La Malinche', p. 32 fn. 8. In this reference, Harrison Olcott uses an example of a book, *Mujer Moderna*, written by a "feminine, professional woman" (most likely a Protestant convert) who rejected Catholicism, but "has several monologues about the importance of believing in God." This book takes place in Chihuahua and is published by Palmore Press, a Protestant Methodist publishing house connected with the influential private Methodist *Colegio Palmore* in Ciudad Chihuahua.

<sup>477</sup> For more information on Protestants in northern Mexico, see Baldwin, *Protestants and the Mexican Revolution*; Philip R. Stover, *The Search for the Soul of Mexico: The Anglo Quest for Naboth's Vineyard*, Vol 2 (Deming, NM: Rio Vista Press, 2018), pp. 63-132.

private citizen, the Dublán Water and Colonization Company, The Corralitos Ranch, and the Palomas Land and Cattle Company.<sup>478</sup>

A relatively little-known and short-duration Chihuahuense colony of “liminal others,” a Spanish Civil War Refugee group, was settled in 1939 and 1940 in the municipality of Namiquipa, in the Santa Clara Valley, northwest of Ciudad Chihuahua.<sup>479</sup> A Spanish Refugee Organization in Mexico, representing the Republican refugees bought 150,000 hectares (370,658 acres) to provide a home and economic base for 450 Republican-leaning Spanish citizens who fled the 1930s Spanish Civil War. An entire town was created with agricultural implements, stores, cattle, and all that was needed to develop irrigation dams and roads. It was to be a collective shared by all the resident refugees.<sup>480</sup>

The planning, funding, and implementation of this new colony named *Ojos Azules* was an immediate success and a short-term failure. By 1944 the original 450 settlers were reduced to sixty-eight.<sup>481</sup> A combination of internal and external forces caused the loss of this little-known colony. Internal forces included the fact that the colony divided along Spanish political lines.<sup>482</sup> External forces most likely included resistance from Namiquipa-based ejidatarios who certainly would have resented the loss of such a vast amount of land.

---

<sup>478</sup> Palomares Peña, *Proprietarios norteamericanos y reforma agraria*, pp. 14-144. Significant information about land purchases and ejido conflicts is found in Harvey H. Taylor, *The Life and Times of Harvey Hyrum Taylor 1890-1972: An Autobiography*, Daniel P. Taylor (Yorba Linda, CA: Shumway Family History Services, 1990), pp. 13-25, 331-352. This book is a significant compilation of Taylor’s diaries, personal notes and interviews that I have in my possession, given to me by a grandson of Harvey Taylor. Harvey Taylor represented the Mormons in many of their legal conflicts with the ejidos in the 1930s.

<sup>479</sup> Ignacio del Cueto Ruiz-Funes, Juan, *Arquitectos españoles exiliados en México* (México D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2019), pp. 240-248.

<sup>480</sup> Whetten, *Rural Mexico*, pp. 166-168.

<sup>481</sup> Whetten, *Rural Mexico*, p. 167.

<sup>482</sup> Whetten, *Rural Mexico*, pp. 167-168.

Another, more powerful external force was the Dirección de Investigaciones Políticas y Sociales (Directorate of Political and Social Investigations, DIPS), the intelligence arm of the Mexican federal government. The leaders of that organization received classified information that the Confederación de Trabajadores de México (CTM) and the Partido Comunista de España (PCE) in Mexico were receiving and stockpiling weaponry manufactured, smuggled to, stolen by, and stored in the Spanish refugee colony in Santa Clara, Chihuahua.

Also involved in this colony's intrigue was former director of the Spanish Republican Military Intelligence Service (SIM) Santiago Garcés Arroyo. He actively was engaged in the smuggling of arms and material from the United States to the Santa Clara Colony.<sup>483</sup>

As a result, the federal government then began closely monitoring the activities of the thousands of Spanish refugees across Mexico.<sup>484</sup> If the charges were accurate, this represents a power violence on the part of the colonists - a betrayal of the government that granted them asylum and citizenship. It also may explain the rapid disintegration of the colony itself.

From the mid-1880s through the thirties (the time of this thesis) and even into the twenty-first century, conflicts continued to escalate between local agrarians and two Anglo religious groups who, in large numbers, emigrated from the United States and Canada to Chihuahua, Sonora, and

---

<sup>483</sup> Stanley G. Payne, *Spanish Civil War, the Soviet Union, and Communism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 244, 252, 260, 265; Kevan A. Aguilar, 'From Comrades to Subversives: Mexican Secret Police and 'Undesirable' Spanish Exiles, 1939-60', *J. Lat. Am. Stud.*, 53.1 (2021), 1-24, <<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/journal-of-latin-american-studies/article/from-comrades-to-subversives-mexican-secret-police-and-undesirable-spanish-exiles-193960/E8C04C1324D961D4DCEDC0A502D4760A#>> (p. 12). These references provide information on both the Santa Clara Colony and the role of Santiago Garcés Arroyo in Spain and smuggling between the US and Mexico.

<sup>484</sup> Aguilar, 'From Comrades to Subversives', p. 12. I have not found records of the exact action taken against the Spanish colonists, but this information may have led to the sudden disbanding of the colony and the exodus of the colonists to disparate parts of Chihuahua and Mexico. The complicating factor is that these left-leaning organizations were typically supportive of Cárdenas government's siding with the Republican factions in Spain. It appears that Aguilar's source for the information about the Santa Clara Refugee Colony is an intelligence report from the AGN that he cites on the previous page - Inspector PS-15 to Arriola, 8 Oct. 1940, AGN, DGIPS, box 81, file 5, p. 168.

Durango. These Mennonites, an Anabaptist group from Europe by way of Canada, and Mormons, members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, swept across the border to colonize the State of Chihuahua. In their first wave of migration to Mexico in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Mormons represented origins from at least fourteen different countries.<sup>485</sup>

Both groups were supported by federal and, to a lesser degree, state governments, who found in them the means to accomplish several goals. First, there was a dire need to help the state recover from the infrastructure damage caused by the revolution.

A second prevalent racial theory among the Mexican intelligentsia had as a goal to strengthen the mestizo population with a migratory transfusion of Anglo blood (Obregón continued the porfirista and Vasconcelos bias towards the preference for a dominant mestizo race via an influx of intermarriages with Anglo colonists).<sup>486</sup> Of course, this goal was thwarted by the extreme religious endogamy of both groups. Because Mennonites did not proselytize, they never converted mestizos sufficiently to encourage significant intermarriage opportunities with Mennonite mestizos.

Third, anticlerical leaders hoped that both Mennonites and Mormons would provide additional competition to that which Protestants and Masons offered to offset the nation's dominant Catholic authority and power. These three primary benefits help explain the strength of the federal

---

<sup>485</sup> Spilsbury Hatch and Hardy, *Stalwarts South of the Border*. I calculated the number of countries represented by the first wave of Latter-day Saint migration to Chihuahua by analyzing all those included in their seminal compilation of pioneer biographies. For an excellent history of the LDS colonies in Mexico, see B. C. Hardy, 'The Mormon Colonies of Northern Mexico: A history, 1885-1912' (Dissertation, Wayne State University, 1963).

<sup>486</sup> For significant essays on race in Mexico, see Alan Knight, 'Racism, Revolution, and Indigenismo: Mexico 1910-1940', in *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870-1940*, ed. by Richard Graham and others, Critical reflections on Latin America series (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), pp. 71-113; Manuel Gamio, *Forjando Patria: Pro Nacionalismo* (México: Librería de Porrúa Hermanos, 1916), p. 117. Gamio, an early Mexican anthropologist, in this important book advocated for the development and greater appreciation of the mestizo race, which he wrote included "a mixture of blood, ideas, industries, virtues and vices. . . with pristine purity." For an excellent study of Gamio's work as the "originator of culturalism in Mexican anthropology," see Renato González Mello, 'Manuel Gamio, Diego Rivera, and the Politics of Mexican Anthropology', *Anthropology and Aesthetics*, 45 (Spring, 2004), 161-85 (pp. 161-185).

support for foreigners in the north of Mexico, to the point of assigning military units to support their settlement.<sup>487</sup>

The Mormons and the Mennonites are perhaps best known of the religiously-affiliated non-Protestant Anglo immigrant groups. They came to Chihuahua by the thousands seeking freedom from what was deemed persecution due to their commitment to living their faith's tenets. The Mormons also had a faith-driven intent to proselytize, especially among the state's Lamanite (Indigenous) population.<sup>488</sup>

The Mennonites first settled in the west-central portion of the state in the early 1920s. They bought land around the Zuloaga homestead known as the Hacienda Bustillos. In this well-known revolutionary location, Madero had his headquarters briefly in 1911 after losing a battle in Casas Grandes and before defeating the forces of Porfirio Díaz at Ciudad Juárez. Over time the Mennonites expanded northward in Chihuahua and south into Durango, establishing colonies (campos) as they grew in population.<sup>489</sup> The Mormons focused their settlements on the Casas Grandes and the Piedras Verdes River valleys in Chihuahua.<sup>490</sup>

---

<sup>487</sup> Joseph Fretz, *Mennonite Colonization in Mexico: An Introduction* (Akron, PA: The Mennonite Central Committee (MCC), 1945), p. 23.

<sup>488</sup> The Lamanites are a Book of Mormon Indigenous people who members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and other Mormon groups believe were descendants of a Jewish family who migrated to the Americas, possibly Mexico in the seventh century BCE. More will be said later in this chapter regarding conflicts between Anglo and mestizo Mormons in the mid-1930s. For the perspective of the LDS Church, see The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, *The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: Lamanite Identity* <<https://www.churchofjesuschrist.org/study/history/topics/lamanite-identity?lang=eng>>.

<sup>489</sup> Sawatzky, *They Sought a Country*, pp. 160-207.

<sup>490</sup> Romney, *The Mormon Colonies in Mexico*; Hardy, B. Carmon Hardy, B. Carmon, 'Hardy 1963'. Both Romney and Hardy were LDS church members and trained historians who managed to navigate successfully through the challenge of the sacred history of their faith to present a carefully detailed history of the colonies. Romney's book started out as his personal diary of life in the Mexican colonies. It is therefore a primary source for many of the events he relates to the reader.

## The Mormons

The Mormon colonies in Mexico were described over the years with various metaphors. One geographer described them as cultural islands.<sup>491</sup> One LDS historian deemed them cultural cocoons.<sup>492</sup> Yet another described them as having a pattern of economic development and cultural isolation.<sup>493</sup> A well-known historian noted that they lived in their colonies in a “complex coexistence” with their mestizo neighbors.<sup>494</sup> Each referred to the Mormon colonies in Chihuahua and Sonora, Mexico, settled by refugees from a country whose flag they would plant at every opportunity. They brought their faith and its requisite endogamy to a foreign country just one hundred miles from “home.”

Although rarely acknowledged, the first Mormon immigrants to Mexico were a small group of families who migrated to the area of the vast Corralitos ranch in northern Chihuahua. They came to mine salt to take back to Arizona. They established the very first officially approved branch and Sunday School in Mexico in March 1885. They did not remain but returned to Arizona to their previous homes.<sup>495</sup>

In 1885 Mormon immigrants came en masse from the US to Mexico. They sought a haven from persecution for polygamy and to build a base from which to proselytize. With the help of their

---

<sup>491</sup> John B. Wright, ‘Mormon Colonias of Chihuahua’, *Geographical Review*, 91.3 (2001), 586–96.

<sup>492</sup> B. C. Hardy, ‘Cultural “Encystment” as a Cause of the Mormon Exodus from Mexico in 1912’, *Pacific Historical Review*, 34.4 (1965), pp. 439–454.

<sup>493</sup> Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico*, p. 65.

<sup>494</sup> John Mason Hart, *Empire and Revolution: The Americans in Mexico since the Civil War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 238–243, (241). Mason Hart’s narratives about the Mormons suffer from inaccuracies, especially in terms of dating of events.

<sup>495</sup> Lucile Pratt, ‘A Keyhole View of Mexican Agrarian Policy as Shown by Mormon Land Problems’ (Master’s Thesis, Columbia University, 1960), p. 8. Acknowledging that using a master’s thesis in a doctoral thesis is unusual, I quote from this thesis for several reasons. It is a graduate history thesis written at a time that there were very few, if any female LDS historians studying at a prestigious secular university. Second, Pratt provides many firsthand perspectives of those who were still alive who were among the first or second generations of Mexico Mormon settlers. She was, in her own way a pioneer for other Mormon female historians who followed in her footsteps.



mother church's financial resources, they owned more than 500,000 hectares or one-half of the land in the Casas Grandes ejido within twenty years. They bought mills and stores from Mexicans. Soon these once-impoverished immigrants were the dominant economic force in Northwest Chihuahua.<sup>496</sup> They became the new hacendados, threatening the most essential patrimony: natural resources, including land and water rights and ownership.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints' migration south from the United States was for two reasons. First, they desired to establish colonies to provide locations from which missionaries could proselytize the local populations, especially those of the Indigenous peoples who in LDS terms were deemed Lamanites (See footnotes 487 and 608). Second, they needed to escape those anti-polygamy laws of the United States that had occasioned the imprisonment of many LDS men.<sup>497</sup>

Apostle Moses Thatcher was an early leader of this migration. As their spiritual leader, he focused on the first reason in his personal diary and prayer on January 25, 1880, in the Hotel Iturbidé in Mexico City.

"I . . . did dedicate the land of Mexico to God our heavenly Father and should it be His will, to the Colonization, by His Saints of any and or all parts thereof; that through them Salvation may come to many of the inhabitants of the republic, and especially to the remnants of Israel, the poor forsaken Lamanites, who for so many centuries have known naught but bondage and sorrow. I prayed that from this hour the fetters which have so long bound their body & souls might be by the power of God broken and shaken off: that their thoughtful, leading men might have dreams,

---

<sup>496</sup> Jane-Dale Lloyd, *El Proceso de Modernización Capitalista en el Noroeste de Chihuahua (1880-1910)* (México: Universidad Iberoamericana, 1987), pp. 113-114, 118, 123; Jane-Dale Lloyd, "'Rancheros and Rebellion: The Case of Northwestern Chihuahua, 1905-1909'", in *Rural Revolt in Mexico: US Intervention and the Domain of Subaltern Politics*, ed. by Daniel Nugent (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998), pp. 107-133.

<sup>497</sup> Philip R. Stover, *Isolation and Integration: Apostles in the Mexican Colonies 1875-1912*, Mormon History Association Annual Conference (Salt Lake City, Utah, 2019).

visions & manifestations to prepare them & their brethren for the truths of the gospel and a knowledge of their fathers, who knew God. . . .<sup>498</sup>

From 1885 to 1905, the Mormons created and populated eight colonies in northern Chihuahua and Sonora. They included Colonias Dublán, Juárez, Díaz, Pacheco, Garcia, Chuichupa in Chihuahua. Morelos and Oaxaca were the two Sonorense colonies. They also established smaller locations but did not consider them colonies since Mexicans lived there before the LDS Mormons established an LDS community identity. By 1907 the population of the Mormon colonies was 4,218 people and growing.<sup>499</sup>

The LDS church headquarters in Salt Lake City established and funded a colonization society named The Mexican Colonization and Agricultural Company. It bought hundreds of thousands of hectares of Mexican land. Juárez and Dublán, two of the original colonies, remain important Anglo-LDS Mormon centers.

The LDS Church held the land in trust for the colonists until the early 1900s. After that, titles began to be provided to individual families and owners, each of whom had to be a member in good standing of the faith. It has not been possible for scholars to determine with exactitude the total number of land transactions (buying and selling) by the LDS church, individual LDS families, and other LDS and non-LDS entities between 1883 and 1915. Missing, incomplete, and inaccurate records of sales and purchases are a problem.

---

<sup>498</sup> Moses Thatcher, *Thatcher, Moses (Mexico) vol. 2, 1880*, 1880, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Vault MSS 248. All of the many misspellings in the text have been corrected by the author. Copy in the author's files.

<sup>499</sup> Jane-Dale Lloyd, "Desamortización tardía; el caso de privatización porfiriana en el noroeste de Chihuahua 1905-1911", in *Don Porfirio presidente: Hallazgos, reflexiones y debates. 1876-1911*, ed. by Falcón and Buve, pp. 201-229 (p. 222, 223). Besides noting the growing population of the Mormon colonies, she noted that the Mormons were "invading" the Mexican space, and that the "coexistence between the Mormons and the ranchers was extremely tense."

According to Jane Dale Lloyd, some Mormons and other local cattle ranchers may have profited in 1908 when more than 20 heads of San Jose families were arrested and sent to San Juan de Ulua, a terrible Mexican prison, for their participation in the failed uprising of the Mexican Liberal Party.<sup>500</sup> According to Lloyd's account, their land was denounced (most likely by the government) and awarded to cattle ranchers or "distinguished Mormons" from Colonia Dublán during their absence of almost two years.<sup>501</sup> Four years later, the Mormons had to leave the area because of revolutionary unrest. Tensions between the Anglo Mormons and the mestizo Mexicans were high in those years and remained so through the time of this thesis.

Many parcels or parts of the same properties were bought and resold between different LDS and non-LDS entities over these years. Some were abandoned due to the 1912 Mormon exodus from Mexico due to revolutionary pressures. Mormons made three exoduses from Mexico (1912, 1915, and 1917) and scattered across the United States. Records were lost in each. Those who returned in the 1920s and 1930s wanted to move home to their original properties but frequently found them subdivided.<sup>502</sup>

These properties, especially those that were abandoned, were a cause of both juridical and violent conflict in the 1930s as Mormons sought to regain rights to these abandoned properties. Lawsuits and disputes over inheritance (within and between Anglo Mormons and mestizos) were and continue to be common occurrences.

---

<sup>500</sup> Beatriz Gutiérrez Chávez, *En Chihuahua Inició y Triunfó la Revolución: Y una Conspiración en Casas Grandes* (Ciudad Chihuahua, Chihuahua, 2022), pp. 128-145. This book contains several familial remembrances of the capture and internment of the young Casas Grandes PLM (magónista) adherents.

<sup>501</sup> Lloyd, *Desamortización tardía*, pp. 224-225.

<sup>502</sup> There appears to be no way around these specific challenges. I spoke with staff from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saint Church History Department. They have no way to help with documentation for specific property sales and purchases.

Casas Grandes was an early Spanish pueblo and mission. Built beside the ruins of the Paquimé civilization, it played an essential role in the area's history up to and throughout the Mexican Revolution. By 1905, all but one of the mills, most stores, and more than half (61,162 hectares) of its ejido land created under the original Spanish type of ejido in 1778 were controlled by the Mormons.<sup>503</sup>

The late-revolutionary ejido in the Casas Grandes area was created in 1927. Immediately, the Casa Grandes ejido officials sought the restitution of significant Mormon land for the ejido. Much to the consternation of the local leaders, the Mormons had powerful friends in both the federal and state government.

Federal support was evidenced back in the days soon after the Mormons arrived in Chihuahua. Within two weeks of their first encampment in April 1885 near Ascension and before any land was purchased, Acting Governor and Zone Military Commander General Carlos Fuero supported a letter written by the *jefe político* of the Galeana District ordering the LDS Mormons to leave Chihuahua within fifteen days or face being forced out by the army.<sup>504</sup> Fuero's father fought and was disabled from injuries to the neck in the Mexican-American War of the 1840s. Fuero had been left out of the negotiations between the LDS Church and the Mexican federal government. To his surprise and apparent consternation, within forty years of his father's grievous injuries, the Mormons represented one more group of armed Anglos invading the state over which he had charge, albeit temporarily.<sup>505</sup>

---

<sup>503</sup> For further details on the economic impact of the Mormons on northwestern Chihuahua, see Lloyd, *Al Proceso de Modernización*, pp. 86-91; Lloyd, "Rancheros and Rebellion", pp. 129, 132-133. Lloyd offers insights into the economic dealings and power of the Mormons in the first decade of the twentieth century.

<sup>504</sup> Romney, *The Mormon Colonies in Mexico*, p. 57.

<sup>505</sup> Almada, *Gobernadores del estado de Chihuahua*, pp. 395-402. Francisco Almada, himself a former three-time governor of Chihuahua is better known for his various works on Chihuahuense history, biography, and geography. Fuero was actually a "substitute governor" appointed to serve the term of Governor Carlos Pacheco while he served Porfirio Díaz in the federal government.

Upon receipt of this message, Mormon leaders immediately left Ascension, drove east in a lightweight wagon, and caught the train for the long ride to Mexico City to protest Fuero's decree. It was not long until Carlos Pacheco (the permanent governor of Chihuahua working for Díaz in Mexico City) and Díaz personally overruled Fuero.<sup>506</sup> The Mormons stayed, accumulating more property in northwest Chihuahua, including large amounts of land in the Sierra Madre basins, and across the border in Sonora in the Bavispe valley.<sup>507</sup>

Between 1885 and 1910, they developed miles of irrigation systems, built canals, and diverted water from the Casas Grandes River to create two artificial lakes to store water for the months when the rain did not come. They bought and built mills, planted orchards, and worked hard to prosper the land.<sup>508</sup>

The revolution interrupted their development of crops and fruit trees, and in 1912 many left Mexico. The forces of the Colorados or orozquistas were based in the Casas Grandes (Colonia Juárez and Dublán) area under the command of General José Inés Salazar, a former student at the Juárez Stake Academy. As the forces of President Huerta put more pressure on the rebel army, they in turn increased the tension with the Mormons to provide supplies, arms, and horses.<sup>509</sup>

The Mormons, who had professed neutrality between the federals and the rebels were increasingly stressed as robberies and threats spiraled out of control. In July 1912, their stake president (the highest local authority supervising a number of wards of the Church of the Church

---

<sup>506</sup> Spilsbury Hatch, *Colonia Juarez*, pp. 7-11. Hatch provides the greatest details about the opposition of Governor Fuero to the settlement of the Mormons.

<sup>507</sup> Sean Waterbury, "Mexico's Mormon Colonies: 1876 to Revolution Chihuahua and Sonora Farmers" (Course Final Paper, Western Oregon University, 2013). It is unusual to cite an undergraduate paper in a thesis, but Waterbury's work is unusually thorough in its scope. His work provides an excellent review of the early days of the Mormons in Mexico, including their conflicts with Interim Governor Carlos Fuero.

<sup>508</sup> Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico*, pp. 55-57.

<sup>509</sup> For a book-length biography of Victoriano Huerta see, Michael C. Meyer, *Huerta: A Political Portrait* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 1972) There is a need in revolutionary historiography for an updated bibliography of President Huerta.

of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints), Junius Romney stayed up all night seeking God’s direction on what to do. The following day, he decided and ordered all the Mormons from all the colonies in Chihuahua to leave Mexico. Shortly after that, those in the Sonora colonies also returned to the United States.<sup>510</sup> It was a difficult decision for many who left. Most never returned.

During the revolution, local rebel leaders aligned with distinct groups who had disparate ideological perspectives. Most had small armies supporting them. Revolutionary leaders such as Rodrigo (soon to be governor in the 1930s) and Silvestre Quevedo, José Ines Salazar (born on Casas Grande’s principal plaza), Maximo Castillo, Manuel Gutiérrez, and Enrique Portillo, first elected municipal president of Casas Grandes coerced arms, supplies, equipment, and livestock from locals. This included significant threats, harassment, and theft from the Mormons.

Because of these pressures and the directions from their leaders, the vast majority of the Mormons left Mexico, leaving a majority of their properties intact.

**Figure 9 Mormons in Chihuahua Colonies in 1912 and 1946**

<b>Name of Colony</b>	<b>Number of Members 1912</b>	<b>Number of Members 1946</b>
Dublán	1,200	250
Juárez	600	300
Pacheco	300	90
García	250	40
Chuichupa	300	130
Total	2,650	810

The above **Figure 9** demonstrates the loss of two-thirds of the Mormon population between 1912, the year of the “exodus” and 1946.<sup>511</sup> As previously noted, by the 1930s, mestizo

<sup>510</sup> For information on the causes, difficulty, and impact of the LDS “exodus” from Mexico in 1912, see Philip R. Stover, ‘The Exodus of 1912: A Huddle of Pros and Cons—Mormons Twice Dispossessed’, *Journal of Mormon History*, 44.3 (2018), 45–69.

<sup>511</sup> Whetten, *Rural Mexico*, p. 158.

Mexican families claimed many of these vacant properties. Mormons, longing for their homes, gradually returned to Mexico as the revolution wound down. A time of complicated prosperity, cooperation, and conflict ensued.

Poor relationships and conflicts over land disputes between Anglo-Mormons and mestizos continued into the 1930s, the focus of this thesis. A similar use of the word “liminal” is found in the previously-cited Steege reference when a different yet relevant example of the word is cited. “In his analysis of rites of passage among the Ndembu people of south-central Africa, Victor Turner described how participants during these rituals found themselves in a “liminal state, a ‘betwixt-and-between-ness’ in which they were simultaneously part and not part of their societies.”<sup>512</sup> This betwixt-and-between-ness well describes the position of many Mormons and Mennonites in northern Mexico throughout their years as colonists and then residents/citizens in Mexico.<sup>513</sup>

The 1930s Mormon migration was predominantly a return to the land they had initially begun settling in 1885. Most early settlers left Chihuahua and Sonora during the most difficult revolutionary years, from 1912-1917. By the 1930s, they were repopulating and laying claims to their original land holdings, abandoned twenty years earlier. As will be seen, these claims on land that Mexican residents had populated would cause significant conflict in the 1930s and for a generation.

As with the Mennonites, Mormons were what might be called inside outsiders in the Mexican milieu. Their motivations were both confusing and incomprehensible to the Mexican Mestizo mindset. Here was a people intent on buying and developing the land but also remaining separate from any “worldly influence,” (non-members of their faith) in a manner confusing to all but

---

<sup>512</sup> Steege, and others, ‘The History of Everyday Life’, p. 369.

<sup>513</sup> Janzen, *Mennonite and Mormons*, pp. 1-82.

the most ardent Chihuahuense Catholics. The Mormons wanted to both belong and be separate at the same time. Their motives included proselytizing Mexicans to join their church. However, at the same time, they maintained a strict separation from the very people they sought to join their church. The Mormon's perceived tendency to want to unite with yet remain separated from converts has confused the mestizo mindset from 1885 to this day. In a recent headline about Mormons in America that could have been written in 1885, Mormons are "Certain in their Beliefs, Uncertain of Their Place in Society."<sup>514</sup> So it was in 1930s Mexico.

The Mormons lived up to two of the three goals of Mexican leaders in allowing them to come to Mexico. They failed in helping create a super mestizo "cosmic" race<sup>515</sup> through intermarriage with locals. They were indeed quite successful in helping to rebuild a revolutionary-torn northwestern Chihuahua and serving as competition to Catholics via their active proselytizing of Mexicans. They failed to become Mexican enough to win the ejido rights on par with their "Mexican" – meaning mestizo neighbors.

Anglo-Mormons succeeded and failed in their determination to be granted land on the same basis as their mestizo neighbors. Theirs was a classic Symbolic Violence. By the 1930s, there were second and third-generation Mormons in Mexico. Those who followed their forebearers believed themselves to be equally Mexican by either birth or naturalization and entitled to all the appropriate rights.

At the same time, as they exhibited symbolic conflict, as Anglo-Mormons, they believed they were better equipped for leadership in a very complex faith than their mestizo fellow

---

<sup>514</sup> Pew Research Center, 'Mormons in America – Certain in Their Beliefs, Uncertain of Their Place in Society', *Pew Research Center's Religion & Public Life Project*, 11 January 2012.

<sup>515</sup> José Vasconcelos, *La Raza Cósmica: Misión de la raza iberoamericana* (Buenos Aires, 1948). "La Raza Cósmica" was an influential essay written by José Vasconcelos, former Secretary of Education and presidential candidate in post-revolutionary Mexico. It strongly argues for the mestizo as the ideal race for Mexico.



members.<sup>516</sup> This bias led to the conflict of the Third Convention, which was not about land, but about status within the LDS church. This significant conflict of the mid-1930s will be discussed in the sectarian or religious conflicts section. For the mestizo Mormon, it was not about land but racial, ethnic, and national pride.<sup>517</sup>

## The Mennonites

The second Anglo religious community, the Mennonites, came to Chihuahua in a migration similar to that of the LDS Mormons. In 1922, thousands of Anglo-Mennonites began pouring into Chihuahua and Durango by train from Canada. They were fleeing what they believed to be persecution by the Canadian government.<sup>518</sup>

These migrants were not just Mennonites but Old Colony Mennonites, so named because they traced their heritage back to the first Mennonite colony in the Russian Empire (in Ukraine) settled in 1804. These were among the most conservative and endogamous of all Mennonites.<sup>519</sup> As with the Mormons, the hope of the Mexican federal government in allowing them to settle in

---

<sup>516</sup> Romney, *The Mormon Colonies in Mexico*, pp. 146-148. Romney, both a professional historian and one who lived for twenty-five years in the Mexican colonies provides a rare and contemporary (1938) eye-witness to the challenges between the Mormons and the Mexican mestizos in Chihuahua, especially in the early years of the colonies.

<sup>517</sup> For an in-depth, yet somewhat subjective analysis reflecting a sacred historical approach to the Third Convention stress in 1930s Mexico, see Rogelio F. Paez Gomez, *The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and the Lamanite Conventions: From Darkness to Light* (Mexico City: Museo de Historia del Mormonismo en Mexico., 2004).

<sup>518</sup> Frank Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1920-1940: A People's Struggle for Survival* (Scottsdale, PA.: Herald Press, 1982), pp. 94-138. Epp's book is the classic work on the Mennonite's struggles in Canada in the early twentieth century, including the challenges for those who migrated to Latin America, as well as for those who remained behind.

<sup>519</sup> Walter Schmiedehaus, *Die Altkolonier-Mennoniten in Mexiko: Ein Kulturdokument über Herkunft und Dasein der Mennoniten-Kolonie in Mexiko* (Bad Kreuznach: Pandion, 1984), pp. 193-205; Redekop, *The Old Colony Mennonites*, pp. 11-21, 251 Appendix B. Schmiedehaus' book is a general German language (now available in Spanish) history of the Mennonites in Mexico until 1948, including some updates until 1984. Redekop's book is a general history of the Old Order Mennonites around the world, including valuable information on those who migrated to Mexico and Belize.

Chihuahua was that they would assimilate with the mestizo population and revitalize the revolution-torn State of Chihuahua.<sup>520</sup> They were successful in the second goal but failed miserably in the first, as they settled in isolated *campos* or colonies where due to their emphasis on living in endogamous isolation, they did their best to ignore their mestizo Mexican neighbors as they passed them by.

These foreign Anglo-Mennonites received special privileges from the federal government known as the *Privilegium*. With these promises from the Obregón administration, they began buying vast stretches of former hacienda land, starting with a portion of the Zuloaga family hacienda. The Zuloaga family intended to sell off a portion of their property to avoid expropriation for ejido use. This was a strategy commonly used by the Chihuahuense elite to avoid the expropriation of their land.<sup>521</sup>

Residents deeply resented both these foreigners and their own government, which allowed the Mennonites to buy land that was their patrimony by natural right and service to the revolution. Jensen suggests that on the other hand, the Mennonites knew little about the importance of land to the campesinos and the fact that land that they had bought had been promised to them.<sup>522</sup> Thus, conflict was the inevitable result.

The Mennonite farmer in Mexico worked hard and was ultimately highly successful.<sup>523</sup> However, in the minds of locals, these foreign immigrants took land, water, and wealth from the

---

<sup>520</sup> Pablo Yankelevich, 'Mexico for the Mexicans: Immigration, National Sovereignty and the Promotion of Mestizaje', *The Americas*, 68.3 (2012), 405–36 (pp. 405, 407); Knight, *Racism, Revolution, and Indigenismo*, pp. 71–113.

<sup>521</sup> Wasserman, 'Strategies for Survival of the Porfirian Elite', p. 104. Wasserman says "The old elite used the courts and law to stall agrarian reform as long as possible. When expropriation of at least part of their lands became unavoidable, they would sell off a large part to foreigners."

<sup>522</sup> Rebecca Janzen, 'Land Conflict in Mexico between Mennonite Colonies and Their Neighbors', *Anabaptist Witness*, 7.2 (2020) <[https://www.anabaptistwitness.org/journal\\_entry/land-conflict-in-mexico-between-mennonite-colonies-and-their-neighbors/](https://www.anabaptistwitness.org/journal_entry/land-conflict-in-mexico-between-mennonite-colonies-and-their-neighbors/)> (p. 30).

<sup>523</sup> 'Se Registran Los Menonitas', *La Opinión - Los Angeles, California*, 14 July 1932, p. 2. Mennonites had to register as foreigners. Not only did this article remind the reader that the Mennonites had been very "prosperous" in their ten years of residency in Mexico, but in addition they had "strange beliefs, customs, and religious practices." Such was the liminality and enclavement of the Mennonites in Chihuahua.

soil and springs of that land. In 1931 when the already booming Mennonite emigration planned to bring in an additional 16,000 colonists, The El Paso Herald-Post quoted *La Voz de Chihuahua* as complaining “They (Mennonites) produce enormous crops and absorb enormous quantities of money from the state which disappears as a glass of water tossed on the desert.” The paper also warned that if the Mennonites were allowed to follow through on their plan, they would represent an “eighth of the state’s population,” a population percentage that obviously was deemed by the author to be excessive.<sup>524</sup>

Both Mennonites and mestizo locals regularly complained about the other throughout the 1930s.<sup>525</sup> Mexico has enormous resources and subterranean wealth (oil and minerals). However, the necessary natural resources needed for the sustenance of life are scarce and difficult to manage.<sup>526</sup>

I have discussed the ruggedness, independence, and uniqueness of the State of Chihuahua and its denizens on several occasions. These attributes of the Chihuahuense are vital to understanding the state and its culture. Chihuahua has the longest border with the United States of any Mexican state, something seen by its residents as both curse and blessing. Its people pride themselves on their separateness from other Mexicans, especially those in the capital region. One scholar has deemed Chihuahuense as the “Barbarians of the North.”<sup>527</sup> For the Chihuahuense, this epithet is more a badge of honor than one of shame.

---

<sup>524</sup> ‘Mexico Paper Raps Entrance of Foreigners: Declares Alien Colonization Signifies Ruin of Native Farmer’, *El Paso Herald-Post*, 7 October 1931, p. 2.

<sup>525</sup> Will, ‘The Mennonite Colonization of Chihuahua’, p. 362.

<sup>526</sup> Sawatzky, *They Sought a Country*, pp. 73-78, 98-107. For those who read German (the book is newly available in Spanish), the classic work is Schmiedehaus, *Die Altkolonier-Mennoniten in Mexiko*; Fretz, *Mennonite Colonization in Mexico*, pp. 23-25.

<sup>527</sup> Machado, *Barbarians of the North*, pp. vii-xi. Esteemed historian Paul Vanderwood wrote the foreword to this one-of-a-kind book. In his foreword, using colloquial language, Vanderwood noted “Driven by their ideal of independence, Chihuahuenses have always proved to be a difficult bronco for the central government to corral” (x).

The primary intent of this chapter is to demonstrate that Chihuahua as a state has had many who have endeavored to describe its unique character: rugged, silent, violent, and to a large degree, empty. Lister and Lister perhaps came closest as they described the state as follows: “There is no verdant, responsive paradise here. This is a somber, silent realm of tawny denuded plains with little water and shade or (sic – should be ‘and’) high, rugged mountains cut by vast canyons. Sudden storms of sand or rain come and depart violently. . . . The demands of such a homeland are soul constricting. . . . A race of strong men was needed to survive here, with enough love of the land to fight back.”<sup>528</sup>

Chapter three will focus on the political, anticlerical, and ideological conflicts occurring in Chihuahua as part of La Segunda in the 1930s. It is important to keep in mind that the rationale and motivation for these conflicts, as well as those to be discussed in chapter four are often mixed. They resist being examined in a reductionist manner.

---

Machado, a professional historian, who Vanderwood claims has “dirt under his fingernails” (ix) offers the reader insight into what Vanderwood deemed the “soul” of Chihuahua.

<sup>528</sup> Lister and Lister, p. vii. In these few words Lister and Lister manage to describe the emptiness, the silence, and the violence of the state of Chihuahua, as well as the intensity of those who inhabit it.

## Chapter Three

### ***Chihuahua: The Silence of the Bells:* Political, Anticlerical, and Ideological Conflicts Menace Governance and Close Churches and Schools**

Metaphorically and literally, in the 1930s, bells—both school and church went silent. Corbin informs the reader that “The bell tower and the ring of bells were regarded as crucial elements in a patrimonial landscape.” He adds, “The bell was regarded as a support for collective memory, and with good reason.” He describes the “auditory void in the soul” of villagers when silence overtakes the bells. Written about French villages, this tying in of bells, patrimony, collective memory, and in their absence, an auditory void in the soul portrays important comparative elements in the mosaic that is also in the community consciousness of the Mexican village.<sup>529</sup>

The intent of chapter three is to provide information and analysis on a series of events in the State of Chihuahua from 1929-1940 that highlight a series of political, anticlerical, and ideological conflicts in that state. These microevents manifested the tensions in the state in these three focal areas. The antecedents were intertwined, and it was sometimes difficult to distinguish their principal motivations.

Even when the religious causal factors were obvious, La Segunda resisted simplistic definition. Meyer makes this clear when he mentions that it was a “hopeless struggle” one in which the participants often deemed the ‘Second.’ They did not dare “to add the word ‘Cristiada,’ a

---

<sup>529</sup> Alain Corbin, *Village Bells: Sound & Meaning in the 19<sup>th</sup>-Century French Countryside* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), pp. 287, 292.

struggle of which they still refuse to speak, because their principal enemy was the Church.”<sup>530</sup> These complexities were the nature of what is known today as La Segunda, the primary focus of this thesis.

### Political Conflicts

The politics of Chihuahua have been complexing since its creation as a state.<sup>531</sup> The political situation in the State over the eleven years covered in this thesis was one of constant change and turmoil. Wasserman characterized the political time frame in Chihuahua from 1930 to 1932 as “The Politics of Chaos.”<sup>532</sup> Ten different men were involved in twenty-four appointed interim, provisional, and constitutionally-elected governor transitions in those years.<sup>533</sup> Between 1929 and 1940, two of them, Andrés Ortiz and Pascual Garcia, each served as governor on six separate occasions. Only two (Rodrigo M. Quevedo and Gustavo L. Talamantes) served their four-year terms to completion. Quevedo was the first governor to finish his term of office since the time of Governor Ahumada at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

While quite different in their political affiliations and priorities, as a testimony to the homogeneity of Chihuahua, every one of the ten governors appointed or elected during these tumultuous years was a Chihuahuense by birth.<sup>534</sup> These years were a time when the federal

---

<sup>530</sup> Meyer, *The Cristero Rebellion*, p. 204. Why was the Church the enemy of the very people who fought to preserve its place in Mexican culture? In La Segunda it may have been because of the lack of support provided by the Church hierarchy to those who protested or took up arms in its defense. Many resented this alienation directed at them by the very organization for which they believed they were fighting.

<sup>531</sup> Luis Aboites Aguilar, ‘Territorio, poder e intereses privados: ensayo sobre la politica en Chihuahua, 1860-1930’, *Nueva Antropología*, X.36 (1989), 65-87.

<sup>532</sup> Wasserman, *Persistent Oligarchs*, p. 52.

<sup>533</sup> Gobernadores del Estado, *Gobernadores del Estado* (2016)  
<<https://chihuahua.gob.mx/info/gobernadores-del-estado>>.

<sup>534</sup> Almada, *Diccionario Historia*. The individual biography of every governor in the state during these years is included in this resource. I checked every biography to determine whether each of the ten men selected, elected, or appointed as governor was born in Chihuahua.

government was alternatively strong and weak. Even when the federal government was at the height of its strength as during the *Maximato*,<sup>535</sup> the governors were all native Chihuahuense. Under the 1921 constitution of the state, being a native of the state was not a requirement to serve as governor. Neither was it a requirement under the 1950 constitution that superseded that of 1921.<sup>536</sup>

In the year 1930 alone, there were seven governor transitions. This “chaos” included a *cuartelazo* (coup d'état) attempt in June 1930, in which Francisco Almada, the sitting provisional governor, fled Ciudad Chihuahua to save his life after shots were fired and depending on the account, one or two *diputados* (members of congress) and the chief of police were killed in a gunfight on the floor of the state congress.<sup>537</sup> Almada appealed to the federal authorities to intervene. After examining what occurred, the federal government under President Pascual Ortiz Rubio supported Almada as governor.<sup>538</sup> Having had enough of the political violence trauma, Almada resigned from his position just a few days later.<sup>539</sup>

---

<sup>535</sup> Buchenau, *Plutarco Elías Calles and the Mexican Revolution*, pp. 143-172; Buchenau, 'Plutarco Elías Calles and the Maximato', pp. 238-253. The Maximato was a period of years where the federal government was under the rather heavy-handed influence of Plutarco Elías Calles.

<sup>536</sup> H. Congreso del Estado, *Constitución Política del Estado de Chihuahua: Publicada el 17 de junio de 1950 en el Periódico Oficial del Estado No. 48* (Ciudad Chihuahua) <<https://www.congresochihuahua2.gob.mx/biblioteca/constitucion/archivosConstitucion/actual.pdf>>. The listing of the 1950 state constitution includes a list of all changes from the 1921 constitution. No changes in requirements to serve as governor were listed. Prerequisites to serve as governor are included in Title VIII, Chapter I, Article 84 of this constitution.

<sup>537</sup> Un Cuartelazo en Chihuahua, 'Almada fue Depuesto; 3 Diputados Muertos: Combate en El Palacio de Gobierno', *La Opinión - Los Angeles, California*, 26 June 1930, pp. 1-4; Shootings Follow Political Unrest, 'Two Claim Governorship of Mexican State While Adherents Fight', *Evening Star*, 26 June 1930, p. C-7.

<sup>538</sup> Lorenzo Meyer, 'La etapa formativa del Estado mexicano contemporáneo (1928-1940)', *Foro Internacional*, 17.4 (68) (1977), pp. 453-476 (p. 470). Meyer comments that the solution to this attempted federal hijacking of the governor's position began to signal the end for local or state usurpations in favor of the power of the party (PNR) and federal government.

<sup>539</sup> Wasserman, *Persistent Oligarchs*, pp. 51-52. It is important to note that accounts of the specific details of what occurred at each stage of the attempted coup d'état vary from source to source.

In 1931 three men shared ten changes in the governorship.<sup>540</sup> This upheaval also led to instability and uncertainty at the municipal and local levels.<sup>541</sup> Political violence, the pursuit of power as one of three types found in *La Segunda*, was evident in the early 1930s. As seen in the following chapter, Chihuahua's western neighbor Sonora experienced similar turmoil as eight men shared interim, provisional, and constitutional governorships in the decade of the 1930s.<sup>542</sup>

From 1929 until the ascension of strongman Rodrigo Quevedo to the governorship of Chihuahua in 1932, the centralized executive state government barely functioned.<sup>543</sup> Then, Governor Rodrigo M. Quevedo (1932-1936) played a pivotal role in virtually everything that happened in Chihuahua. He was a strongman/*caudillo* who kept his eyes and hands on everything that interested him.<sup>544</sup>

Born in middle class Casas Grandes, his life from childhood through his natural death in 1967 is an enigma wrapped up in a puzzle. Quevedo was one of thirteen children. Although the academy records earlier than 1935 are lost, most locals agree that he attended the LDS Juárez Stake Academy in Colonia Juárez. He was conversant, if not fluent in English.

---

<sup>540</sup> The classic study of the governors of Chihuahua is Almada, *Gobernadores del estado de Chihuahua*. Almada served as interim governor of Chihuahua on three occasions. He survived at least one coup attempt and in later life became a noted historian and specialist in the geography of Chihuahua. The aforementioned website *Chihuahua Gobierno del Estado: Gobernadores del Estado* (2020) <<https://www.chihuahua.gob.mx/info/gobernadores-del-estado>> offers an excellent list of Chihuahuense governors.

<sup>541</sup> For information on the political conflicts of the 1930s in Chihuahua see Mark Wasserman, 'The Transition from Personalist to Party Rule: Chihuahuan Politics during the 1930s' in Jaime E. Rodríguez O. (ed.), *The Revolutionary Process in Mexico: Essays on Political and Social Change, 1880 - 1940*, UCLA Latin American studies series, 72 (Los Angeles, CA: Univ. of California Latin American Center, 1990), 213-226; Wasserman, *Persistent Oligarchs*, pp. 50-68.

<sup>542</sup> Nicolás Pineda Pablos, *Los gobernadores de Sonora, 1911-2009* (Hermosillo, Sonora, México: H. Congreso del Estado, LIX Legislatura, 2010), p. 8.

<sup>543</sup> This analysis of the turnover in governors was made using data from *Chihuahua Gobierno del Estado* ; [https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anexo:Gobernantes\\_de\\_Chihuahua](https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anexo:Gobernantes_de_Chihuahua). Historically, all three levels of political leadership in Mexico (local, state, and federal) have strong branches of executive authority. In the absence of consistency in this role, the planning, passing, and implementation of initiatives to meet various needs, crises, or conflicts greatly suffered.

<sup>544</sup> Knight, 'Narco-Violence', pp. 123-124.



As many other Casas Grandes area revolutionaries, he regularly changed sides, serving as a magónista, maderista, orozquista, huertista, and villista. Both before and after serving as governor, he was a successful senior officer in the military. Quevedo was a supporter of the Mormons in their conflicts in the state. He rarely supported workers, campesino, and agraristas. He was seen as ruthless in his pursuit of power. With his brothers he gained control of the drug, narcotics, prostitution, and gambling trades in the borderlands area, especially in Ciudad Juárez. Together, like a powerful clan, they formed a powerful political coalition. His brother Jesús became mayor of Ciudad Juárez, the largest and most important city in the state; his brother Lorenzo became president of the state legislature; his brother José was both president of the Chihuahua State PNR political party and inspector of the casinos in Ciudad Juárez. The four brothers held four of the most powerful positions in Chihuahua.<sup>545</sup>

The family was heavily involved in conflicts over politics in the Ciudad Juárez government, especially related to controlling liquor and casino interests. In 1935 conflicts boiled over related to political control of the city and its unique resources that provided wealth for much of the state. Deaths and injuries were the result.<sup>546</sup> Into the late 1930s, conflicts involving the Quevedos and the then-current Chihuahuense governor Talamantes continued. In 1938, describing an act of political violence, the New York Times reported the murder by a package bomb of the then-mayor of

---

<sup>545</sup> Mosaicos, 'En Chihuahua ha resurgido la santa hermandad', *La Opinión - Los Angeles, California*, 22 July 1932, p. 7.

<sup>546</sup> 2 Slain, 34 Wounded in Clash in Mexico, 'Political Rivals in Juarez Use Sabers, Pistols, Clubs and Stones in Street Battle', *The New York Times*, 31 October 1935, p. 15. Interestingly in this particular conflict between the Herrera and Quevedo factions for control of the city's mayoral elections, at least one bystander to the conflicts were heard to shout "¡Viva Cristo Rey!" the cry of the Cristeros. Late 1935 was a critical period of time in the church-state conflicts in northern Mexico. Langston, "The Impact of Prohibition," p. 175 informs us that twenty men lost their lives in these conflicts in the early 1930s. I have not included that number of deaths in 1930s Chihuahua from this type of political violence because Langston provides no documentation or other support for that statistic.

Ciudad Juárez, José Borunda.<sup>547</sup> According to the article, Governor Talamantes supported Mayor Borunda, who the Quevedos opposed.

Strongly anticlerical, Quevedo was an astute political observer and a resolute follower of Plutarco Elías Calles. That he lived until 1967 is a sort of testimony to his tenacity, strength, political acumen, and power. To this day, in the region of Casas Grandes his name is used with a mixture of fear and respect. Perhaps more than any other modern Chihuahuense politician, Quevedo earned the sobriquet of oligarch.<sup>548</sup>

The final political conflict during the time frame of this thesis occurred in September 1940 when Juan Andreu Almazán believed he had been deprived of the presidency he had legitimately won. International newspapers were awash for two weeks with news of a potential rebellion in Chihuahua by forces faithful to the very popular general and presidential candidate. General Almazán was a popular northern revolutionary general who Manuel Avila Camacho defeated in that year's presidential election.

The newspaper accounts regarding the rebellion in Chihuahua vary widely, but more or less, two-hundred rebels in support of Almazán went into rebellion southwest of Ciudad Chihuahua under the leadership of Colonel Cruz Villalba, an avid villista during the earlier years of the revolution. Some accounts indicate that there were deaths in the rebellion. Still, most articles suggest that the rebellion in Chihuahua lasted only a few weeks because the federal army used airplanes and modern armaments in the mountains and valleys southwest of Ciudad Chihuahua to

---

<sup>547</sup> Mayor Killed by Bomb, *The New York Times*, 3 April 1938, p. 33.

<sup>548</sup> An informative biography of Quevedo and his extensive family remains to be written. For an informative and well-researched review of the Quevedo family's role in the illicit trades of prohibition era Ciudad Juárez see Nicole Mottier, 'Drug Gangs and Politics in Ciudad Juárez: 1928–1936', *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos*, 25.1 (2009), 19–46.

intimidate the rebels into surrendering.<sup>549</sup> This was a power violence episode in central Chihuahua and perhaps the last act of rebellion by many former Villistas in their home state.

### **Anticlerical Conflicts**

Chihuahua has a long history of dependence on and preference for a local interpretation of faith, including Catholicism. Local non-consecrated chapels or *capillas* dot the landscape, line the roads, and are ever-present in large and small private residences. Altarcitos, or small inside-the-home shrines, can be found in even the most modest dwellings. For the faithful, this type of spiritual practice is a quotidian affair.

The tendency in rural Mexico, especially in the north, is often deemed a preference for “local” or “popular” religion. A classic clash between popular religion and strong institutional hierarchy will be evidenced in the following few pages as the Third Convention crisis in LDS Mormon Mexico is analyzed.

Whether Catholic, Protestant, Pentecostal, Mormon, or Mennonite, central authority tended not to be the priority in the Chihuahuense’s faith. Being free to interpret one’s faith in a local context was vital to the well-being and spiritual satisfaction of the rural northerner.<sup>550</sup> According to the Dirección General de Estadística, in 1930, the overall average percentage of the

---

<sup>549</sup> Fue Nulo el Levantamiento en Chihuahua, ‘El Movimiento No Tuvo Jefes ni Partidarios: A unos cuantos que se levantaron, se les están dando garantías’, *La Opinión - Los Angeles, California*, 28 September 1940, p. 2; Mexico City Hears Uprising is Quelled, ‘Few Remaining Rebels Said to be in Dire Straits’, *New York Times*, 22 September 1940, p. 30. I have not included any deaths from this rebellion since I have not verified documentation of the same.

<sup>550</sup> Stover, *The Search for the Soul of Mexico: Religion and Revolution*, pp. 57-65, 109-124; Adrian A. Bantjes, ‘Religion and the Mexican Revolution: Toward a New Historiography’, in *Religious Culture in Modern Mexico*, ed. by Martin A. Nesvig, Jaguar books on Latin America series (Lanham, Md., Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007), pp. 223-55.

rural population in Mexico by the state was 72 percent.<sup>551</sup> Similarly, in 1930, the rural percentage of the total population of Chihuahua was 70.4 percent yet spread over a geography where huge areas were unlivable. Given this state's vast land mass and the lack of good roads, the village, extended family, and home were the essential centers of life and patrimony.<sup>552</sup>

In the context of sectarian violence, previously mentioned long-time Bishop of Chihuahua, Antonio Guizar y Valencia deserves further mention. He maintained a stable position in favor of peaceful conflict resolution.<sup>553</sup> While instructing candidates for the priesthood, he focused on teaching his values and resolute opposition to armed conflict.

On several occasions, he did, however, encourage the faithful of Chihuahua to gather signatures for petitions of protest and to boycott the public schools.<sup>554</sup> On the 20<sup>th</sup> of September 1935, one such petition containing 80,000 signatures appealing for the freedom of worship and reopening of the churches was presented to the state congress. The petition and later protest marches were greeted with “*oidos sordos*” (deaf ears) by the government.<sup>555</sup>

Although forced into exile in the United States on two occasions, his strong position against armed conflict led to there being no large-scale religiously motivated military interventions in Chihuahua during La Segunda.<sup>556</sup> Instead, in 1935 federal troops based in that state were sent to

---

<sup>551</sup> As reported by the federal Dirección General de Estadística in Simpson, *The Ejido: Mexico's Way Out*, p. 588. In these data, rural was defined as living in a community of under 4,000 inhabitants.

<sup>552</sup> Savarino Roggero, *El Conflicto Religioso en Chihuahua*, p. 71.

<sup>553</sup> Contreras Orozco, *El mártir de Chihuahua*, pp. 315-332; Juan González Morfín, ‘Antonio Guizar y Valencia, obispo y arzobispo de Chihuahua, y su influencia en la formación de un laicado católico ajeno a la resistencia armada’, *Debates por la Historia*, 8.1 (2020), 179–204  
<<https://www.redalyc.org/journal/6557/655769220006/html/>>.

<sup>554</sup> José A. Ramos González, *El Silencio de las Campanas: Historia y anécdotas de la persecución religiosa en la villa Meoqui* (Las Vegas, NV, 2021), pp. 23-25.

<sup>555</sup> Ramos González, *El Silencio de las Campanas*, p. 25.

<sup>556</sup> Savarino Roggero, *El Conflicto Religioso en Chihuahua*, p. 111.

Sonora, where the potential of armed Cristero violence and its subsequent reality were significant.<sup>557</sup>

According to the 1930 Chihuahua census, as quoted in O'Rourke, there were no more than 4,591 Protestants, 277 Hindus, and 127 Jews in the state. After making note of these census figures, O'Rourke laments that "the reality in Chihuahua was that there were five Methodist pastors for every five Catholic priests."<sup>558</sup> This lament may have had more passion than accuracy behind it. There is debate about whether the law limiting priests in the state was applied to all faiths. Indeed, during the governorship of Quevedo, more significant restrictions were applied to all religions.

Finally, in late 1934 Quevedo, in an act of symbolic violence, expelled all priests from the state, including Archbishop Antonio Guízar y Valencia. In effect, officiating the Mass came to a complete halt in Chihuahua.<sup>559</sup> According to O'Rourke, Protestant pastors continued to freely serve their churches in all the major cities of Chihuahua. O'Rourke also attributes to Quevedo the following quote deploring "the attitude displayed by the clerical elements, still clinging to the delusional claim to fight the social masses through fanaticism and slavery of conscience. . . seeking to counteract the work of government and nullify the revolutionary gains."<sup>560</sup>

Not all anticlericalism was physically violent. There was also symbolic violence, where attempts were made to inculcate or indoctrinate the pueblo with new and diverse cultures, beliefs, and values. Fallaw provides an overview of anticlericalism against the Catholic church sacrament of confession as an example of a non-violent form of striving to lessen the Church's influence over the

---

<sup>557</sup> Bantjes, *As if Jesus Walked on Earth*, pp. 49, 50.

<sup>558</sup> O'Rourke, *La Persecución Religiosa en Chihuahua*, p. 43. This is a brief, yet classic work on religious conflicts and persecution in Chihuahua.

<sup>559</sup> O'Rourke, *La Persecución Religiosa en Chihuahua*, p. 44.

<sup>560</sup> O'Rourke, *La Persecución Religiosa en Chihuahua*, p. 103.

people.<sup>561</sup> This type of violence is seen as appropriate because the “new” government had the right to create in Mexico a “new man” out of the campesino who was, at best, seen as a “backward” and “incomplete” being.<sup>562</sup>

One method employed by governments across Mexico to assert a form of what Fallaw deems “temporal and spatial anticlericalism” was that of changing religious placenames to secular, even heroic names in the hope of wiping vestiges of faith off of the map.<sup>563</sup> During the 1930s in Chihuahua, severe restrictions were imposed on Catholic worship in the form of what I deem as symbolic violence.<sup>564</sup>

Anticlerical fervor caused the state congress in Chihuahua under several anticlerical governors to change placenames of towns and various geographical features from religious (usually dating back to Spanish colonial times) to secular names, especially those of Mexican or revolutionary heroes. Examples included San Eulalia being renamed Aquiles Serdán, San Isabel to General Trías, San Lorenzo to Dr. Belisario Domínguez, Puerto Palomas to General Rodrigo M Quevedo, Hacienda del Carmen to Flores Magón and San Nicolás de Carretas to Gran Morelos.<sup>565</sup>

Topographical place names were also changed. Rather than becoming a source of tension, it is a testimony to the importance of sustainability of local customs that many of these name changes were never fully implemented but simply ignored by inhabitants.

In Chihuahua, several governors employed this strategy involving a form of symbolic violence. Not all conflicts and actions taken by locals in opposition to this anticlerical place name

---

<sup>561</sup> Ben Fallaw, ‘The Seduction of Revolution: Anticlerical Campaigns against Confession in Mexico, 1914–1935’, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 45.1 (2013), pp. 91–120.

<sup>562</sup> Palacios, ‘Postrevolutionary Intellectuals’, pp. 312, 316.

<sup>563</sup> Fallaw, ‘Varieties of Mexican Revolutionary Anticlericalism’, p. 485.

<sup>564</sup> Savarino Roggero, *El Conflicto Religioso en Chihuahua*, pp. 151–182.

<sup>565</sup> Albert L. Michaels, ‘The Modification of the Anti-Clerical Nationalism of the Mexican Revolution by General Lázaro Cárdenas and Its Relationship to the Church-State Detente in Mexico’, *The Americas*, 26.1 (1969), 35–53. Savarino, *El Conflicto Religioso*, p. 172.

change strategy in Chihuahua were of a violent nature. One instance representing a clever yet non-violent solution by local opposition to a new law was successfully applied in Guadalupe Victoria, a small town and former municipal seat north of Delicias and southeast of Ciudad Chihuahua.<sup>566</sup>

In 1931, Governor Roberto Fierro signed a law to “rebaptize” Chihuahuense place names.<sup>567</sup> As a result, in the same year, the government imposed on the old village of Guadalupe de los Navichames (founded in 1710) the requirement to change its name. Its name was initially given to honor the ministry of the Virgin of Guadalupe via the Franciscans to the Navichames, a little-known Indigenous group centered in the area. That year (1931), Guadalupe de los Navichames also lost its status as a municipal seat, which was re-assigned to the nearby city of Meoqui.<sup>568</sup>

Faced with the requirement to change their name, the community decided on a deceptive strategy to comply without resisting or evolving. Having been provided a list of the type of names that would be appropriate, the residents of Guadalupe de los Navichames decided to choose the name Guadalupe Victoria, a hero of the independence movement and first president of Mexico.

In that choice, Guadalupe Victoria had the perfect first name for the town to use as its own. The new secular name was approved, and to this day, the village continues to use its original moniker of Guadalupe. The state government was propitiated, and nothing really changed. The town never abandoned and continues its well-known adoration of the town’s patron saint, the

---

<sup>566</sup> For a brief historical overview of the town of Guadalupe Victoria, see Francisco González, *Guadalupe Victoria, Meoqui fue municipio durante 37 años* (2022) <[https://lanoticiaregional-com-mx.translate.google.com/translate/guadalupe-victoria-meoqui-fue-municipio-durante-37-anos/?\\_x\\_tr\\_sl=auto&\\_x\\_tr\\_tl=en&\\_x\\_tr\\_hl=en](https://lanoticiaregional-com-mx.translate.google.com/translate/guadalupe-victoria-meoqui-fue-municipio-durante-37-anos/?_x_tr_sl=auto&_x_tr_tl=en&_x_tr_hl=en)>.

<sup>567</sup> Un Decreto de Fierro Entro en Vigor Ya, ‘Son cambiados los nombres de santos en calles y poblaciones’, *La Opinión - Los Angeles, California*, 14 July 1932, p. 2. This article points out that “jocular comments were heard everywhere about the change of names, which is generally considered as improper.”

<sup>568</sup> Ramos González, *El Silencio de las Campanas*. This small book provides a history of the City of Meoqui during the anticlericalism of the 1930s.

Virgin of Guadalupe on Dec 12 of each year.<sup>569</sup> Symbolic violence was defeated without resorting to power violence.

I am making a brief excursion across the Sierra Madre to the west of the mountainous border of Chihuahua and Sonora. While Sonora is separate from Chihuahua, the two are indivisible in the sense of the rugged border they share. Protecting that border was and remains a priority for federal troops including in the challenging years of 1934-1936.

The rugged Sierra Madre Mountains form the north-south borderline between Sonora to the west and Chihuahua to the east. For centuries they were the hiding and resting place of the Apache who traversed their heights to raid one state or the other. By the early 1930s, they were reduced to small, isolated groups seeking to avoid capture by the Mexican or US army, or by roving bands of equally rugged campesino seeking to earn the bounty for scalps offered by the Mexican government.<sup>570</sup>

In 1934, wars of distinct types came to the Sierra Madre borderlands as federal Mexican soldiers were ordered to destroy whatever evidence of Catholic faith they could find. Under the governorship of Sonoran Rodolfo Elias Calles, son of strongman, former president, and strongly anticlerical Plutarco Elías Calles, and that of Chihuahuense Governor Rodrigo Quevedo, the most strident form of iconoclasm in northern Mexico took place in this mountainous region between the two states.

Farther southwest in 1934, local and state authorities burned Indigenous country churches and their santos (images) under Governor Calles' orders throughout the Indigenous Mayo region.

---

<sup>569</sup> González, *Guadalupe Victoria, Meoqui*, p. 16.

<sup>570</sup> Goodwin and Goodwin Neil, *The Apache Diaries*. This book provides insight into the existence and condition of the isolated Apache groups in the Sierra Madre into the 1930s. It is based the diaries of anthropologist and ethnologist Grenville Goodwin.



The faithful lost some belief because no tragedies occurred to those guilty of this heresy. Juan Pacheco, the local chief of state police for Alamos district, did the burning and lived long into the 1950s.<sup>571</sup> The church at Batacosa, Sonora, was not damaged when armed local villagers met him at his car as he attempted to enter the village. He turned away. Therefore *San Bartolo* (Bartholomew), the statue of the patron saint of Batacosa, survived. In 1958 Pacheco denied that he ever was afraid or felt threatened along the Mayo River.<sup>572</sup>

Many local Mayo Valley Catholic churches were closed during the period (the mid-1930s) known as “the burning.”<sup>573</sup> Despite this constant threat of iconoclasm in the form of the destruction of churches and saints in the 1930s and the lack of divine punishment, interest in Mayo religious festivals actually increased.<sup>574</sup> The study of increased religiosity as a means to thwart anticlericalism in its most severe iconoclastic manifestation has drawn study from other contemporary efforts in the early twentieth century.<sup>575</sup>

A Mayo legend from 1934 highlights the importance of keeping alive religious beliefs during that difficult period:

In the past, before 1926, the Mayo church was available to everyone, Mayos and mestizos. The doors were open and never locked. One day Juan Pacheco, a mestizo under orders from the state government, entered and set fire to the Mayo church in Júpare, a small Mayo pueblo near Huatabampo, Sonora, Mexico. He carried off the saints, *the Little Children*. As they crossed the Mayo

---

<sup>571</sup> Erasmus, Miller and Faron, *Contemporary Change in Traditional Communities*, p. 65.

<sup>572</sup> Erasmus, Miller and Faron, *Contemporary Change in Traditional Communities*, pp. 97-100.

<sup>573</sup> Erasmus, Miller and Faron, *Contemporary Change in Traditional Communities*, p. 97.

<sup>574</sup> Erasmus, Miller and Faron, *Contemporary Change in Traditional Communities*, pp. 100-102.

<sup>575</sup> Glennys Young, *Power and the Sacred in Revolutionary Russia: Religious activists in the village* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), pp. 2-5, 111-192. Young writes of what she deems an “antireligious campaign” (p. 2) in the Soviet Union that roughly parallels the anticlerical movement in Mexico (1920s and 1930s). She writes of the resilience of the Orthodox church and local villagers in their resistance to the Soviet government’s attempts to eliminate religion as a cultural factor in rural Soviet Union. There are many interesting parallels to the similar and contemporary situation in Mexico, including that of the Sonorense Mayo (an Indigenous group) reaction in La Segunda. Matthew Butler, ‘A Revolution in Spirit? Mexico, 1910-1940’, in *Faith and Impiety in Revolutionary Mexico*, ed. by Butler, pp. 1-20.

River, San Juan, one saint saved himself by jumping into the water, even though Pacheco shot at him.

Then Pacheco took the rest of the saints part of the way to Huatabampo and burned them.<sup>576</sup>

Keeping their faith alive, even in legends like this from Júpate, in the face of a lack of divine retribution and constant persecution was an essential part of the revolutionary mindset known as La Segunda.<sup>577</sup>

In November of that same year, Juan Navarrete y Guerrero, the Sonorense bishop, fled Hermosillo, the state capital, to hide in the Sierra, protected by faithful Catholics and the lofty crags of the mountains.<sup>578</sup> Soldiers from both Sonora and Chihuahua sought his hiding places at various sites in the High Sierra near Nacori Chico, Huasabas, and the Bavispe River within a few miles of the Chihuahuense border. Having promised never to leave Sonora because of persecution, he constructed a clandestine log cabin library, training center, dormitories for young priests, and a hideout for himself.<sup>579</sup>

While not strictly Chihuahuense, a series of events in September 1935 led to a large group of Mexican federal cavalry from Nuevo Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, being dispatched to Sonora to put down the new Cristero rebellion. These border-area (Sonora and Chihuahua) conflicts were complex in their causation. They were in part political, serrano (encouraged by mountain

---

<sup>576</sup> N. R. Crumrine, 'Mechanisms of Enclavement Maintenance and Sociocultural Blocking of Modernization Among the Mayo of Southern Sonora', in *Ejidos and Regions of Refuge in Northwestern Mexico*, ed. by Crumrine and Weigand, pp. 21-32 (p. 24); Bantjes, *As if Jesus Walked on Earth*, p. 7; Bantjes, 'Burning Saints, Molding Minds', p. 262. The Bantjes quote, in subsequent sources appears in a modified form. The date 1926 in this original quote in Crumrine is incorrect. The correct date of the actual event described in the legend is 1934.

<sup>577</sup> Butler, *A Revolution in Spirit*, p. 16.

<sup>578</sup> Bantjes, *As if Jesus Walked on Earth*, pp. 25, 46-50; encuentra.com, *Fechas cronológicas de don Juan Navarrete y Guerrero* (2008) <[https://encuentra.com/causas\\_de\\_canonizacion/fechas\\_cronologicas\\_de\\_don\\_juan\\_navarrete\\_y\\_guerrero15691/](https://encuentra.com/causas_de_canonizacion/fechas_cronologicas_de_don_juan_navarrete_y_guerrero15691/)> .

<sup>579</sup> encuentra.com, *Fechas cronológicas de don Juan Navarrete y Guerrero*.

ranchers/landowners), religious, and fueled by opposition to the growing brand of “socialist” education.<sup>580</sup>

As previously mentioned, in September 1935, newly-ordained (at the secret seminary) Catholic priest Juan Crisóstomo Barceló went into the mountain town of Granados, Sonora, to serve the spiritual needs of the people there (See **Figure 17**, p. 265). He was discovered and arrested by local authorities. In response, one-hundred-fifty to two-hundred serranos took up arms in protest.<sup>581</sup> Gathering fighters for his cause, General Luis Ibarra Encinas launched the first northern Mexico announcement of the Cerro Gordo Proclamation, declaring that he and his men were in rebellion against the anticlerical governments.<sup>582</sup> Ibarra, born in Sonora, was a victorious Cristero general in Jalisco during the First Cristiada.<sup>583</sup> General Ibarra and his men began a series of campaigns safeguarding towns throughout the eastern Sonorenses Sierra Madre (See **Figure 16**, p. 264).

Meanwhile, back in Chihuahua, in his headquarters in Nuevo Casas Grandes, General Agustín Mustieles, future division general and close ally of Mexican President Manuel Avila Camacho, received his orders.<sup>584</sup> Aided by scout planes, he was to lead his two-hundred men cavalry regiment west into the impenetrable Sierra Madre to find Bishop Navarrete and confront Ibarra’s forces.<sup>585</sup>

---

<sup>580</sup> Bantjes, *As if Jesus Walked on Earth*, p. 46.

<sup>581</sup> Bantjes, *As if Jesus Walked on Earth*, pp. 48-50.

<sup>582</sup> Bantjes, “Idolatry and Iconoclasm in Revolutionary Mexico”, p.47. See p. 99 of this thesis for more details about the Cerro Gordo Proclamation. For a copy of the text of the Cerro Gordo Proclamation (See **Figure 15**, p. 263).

<sup>583</sup> Meyer, *The Cristero Rebellion*, pp. 115, 128, 135. See photo of General Ibarra together with other Cristeros from the Cristero War in Jalisco in **Figure 16**, p. 264.

<sup>584</sup> For more information on the career of General Agustín Mustieles, see Rath, *Camouflaging*, pp. 101-102. See also, *Diccionario de Generales de la Revolución: Tomo II M-Z* (México: Instituto Nacional de Estudios Históricos de las Revoluciones de México, 2014), p. 717.

<sup>585</sup> Bantjes, *As if Jesus Walked on Earth*, p. 49.

He also was to form a barrier of troops between Sonora and Chihuahua so that the rebels under Ibarra could not escape into Chihuahua.<sup>586</sup> The perspective of this newspaper article clearly presents the perspective of the Cardenista government. Those fighting against the government in Sonora were fighting against the regime of Governor Ramos. They were demonstrating that purpose by the deaths of a number of mayors in small Sierra Madre towns.

There is no mention of the discontent of the people because of the “socialist” education or the anticlericalism demonstrated in extreme iconoclasm. It is interesting to understand the perspective of the press, which was sometimes given their talking points by the officials of the Sonorenses and Cardenista governments. While there is no mention of General Mustieles in this lengthy article, there clearly is of the forces coming from Chihuahua to lend aid to those fighting the rebels in Sonora.

In October 1935, the 20<sup>th</sup> Cavalry Regiment headed west from Nuevo Casas Grandes, Chihuahua under red and black flags. It is difficult to pinpoint exactly the use and meaning of the red and black banners, armbands, clothing, and flags that were used in the revolutionary period. Bailey indicates it was a symbol of labor. Chrisman agrees and adds that it was used to symbolize labor unrest and strikes. He quotes Mexican President Diaz Ordaz as indicating it was a representation of communism. Lawrence indicates it was a symbol of agrarians as does Morris in his email, adding that it may symbolize a radical form of agrarianism. Bantjes sees it as an anticlerical statement and to the pueblo, a symbol of “the Bolsheviki.”<sup>587</sup>

---

<sup>586</sup> Llegan 12 Aviones a Sonora para Combatir la Rebelión, ‘Que no tiene Importancia la Rebelión; Ahogaran el Movimiento con Rapidez: Salen Fuerzas de Chihuahua’, *La Opinión - Los Angeles, California*, 13 October 1935, pp. 1, 8.

<sup>587</sup> Bailey, ‘Álvaro Obregón and Anticlericalism’, p. 196; Lawrence, *Insurgency, counter-insurgency and policing*, p. 69; Kevin M. Chrisman, ‘Meet Me at Sanborns: Labor, Leisure, Gender, and Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Mexico’ (PhD, York University, 2018), p. 194; Nathaniel Morris, *Red and Black Banners Email Message*, Philip R. Stover (Mata Ortiz, Chihuahua, 2020); Bantjes, *As if Jesus Walked on Earth*, pp. 29, 31, 46, 60; John Lear, *Picturing the*

The red and black banner was used in French and Spanish revolutionary symbology as well. In the mural *Acechanza*, noted in p. 3, fn. 12, Mexican muralist José Orozco included an image of a peasant holding a red and black flag. Its exact meaning is of course, unspoken. John Lear's book provides unique insights into the symbology of the revolutionary period in Mexico from 1908 to 1940. It includes a number of insightful references to the red and black symbology of the period.<sup>588</sup>

The Chihuahua-based soldiers traveled over the rugged Pulpit Pass, created by Mormons forty years earlier, to ease travel between their Chihuahuense and Sonorense colonies. The cavalry crossed the Sierra Madre and rode into the Sahuaripa pueblo in search of Bishop Navarrete and the rebels. They severely damaged the village church there, destroying many statues and santos.

The Cristeros under Ibarra sustained their first battle against federal soldiers, the 16<sup>th</sup> Infantry Battalion, close to the village of Batuc.<sup>589</sup> After being dispersed by the federals, they fought again on October 13<sup>th</sup> in Agua Fría near Tepache, Sonora.<sup>590</sup> There the Cristero group was defeated and permanently disbanded. General Ibarra escaped and survived until some years later when he was granted amnesty.<sup>591</sup>

Federal troops stayed in the area through December 1935. They did succeed in finding Bishop Navarrete's clandestine seminary, which they burned to the ground, together with all its

---

*Proletariat: Artists and labor in revolutionary Mexico, 1908/1940*, Joe R. and Teresa Lozano long series in Latin American and Latino art and culture (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2017); Bantjes, 'Burning Saints, Molding Minds', p. 267.

<sup>588</sup> Lear, *Picturing the Proletariat*, pp. 83-316. Throughout the main body of this unique book are vivid portrayals of the protests, conflicts, and advocacy of all classes of Mexicans from 1910 through 1950. The images and colors provide insight into the tension of this time period.

<sup>589</sup> Mexico Hurries Troops to Crush Revolt, 'New Raids Terrify Sonora: War Minister Leaves for North to Take Charge of Drive', *Washington Times*, 16 October 1935, p. 1. This newspaper account provides a viewpoint of the Cristeros as rebels, threatening the security of the towns in which they fought. It makes no mention of the iconoclasm committed by the federal troops.

<sup>590</sup> Discontent Described as very Serious, *The Brownsville Herald*, 6 November 1936, p. 2; Battles with Rebels Continue, *The Brownsville Herald*, 6 November 1935, p. 2  
<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86063730/1935-11-06/ed-2/seq-2/>.

<sup>591</sup> Los últimos cristeros, *Desde la Pirinola: Cuando los granadeños tomaron las armas para defender su libertad religiosa* (2020) <<https://desdelapirinola.tumblr.com/post/614763154318229504/los-%C3%BAltimos-cristeros>>.

buildings. It is unknown which of the three different federal units surrounding the Cristeros discovered and burned the hidden complex.<sup>592</sup>

Those, such as the Cristeros fighting for their patrimony in Sonora in 1935 were unsuccessful against the federal troops that surrounded them on all sides. The power violence of the soldiers was too much of a force for those who tried to succeed by their own force of arms (power violence). At the same time, the troops, legislators, teachers, and others representing the national interest also failed as much as they succeeded.

Both state and federal governments had to change their mode of operation. The iconoclasm and strident socialism of the 1930s had no chance of achieving the goal of a “new” Mexico. Even in the Maximato base of Sonora, aided by troops from Chihuahua, the government could not defeat the passion of those seeking, at the very least, an equilibrium of rights. Cárdenas had no choice but to change the federal and state governments’ strategy and methodology.<sup>593</sup>

Across the Sierra Madre, Catholic churches were not the only ones in Chihuahua impacted by the restrictions on the clergy. On November 25, 1934, the Brownsville Herald reported that all the Mormon churches in the various Mormon colonies were closed by order of Governor Rodrigo Quevedo.<sup>594</sup> Quevedo, as noted, was generally a supporter of the Mormons, being born and raised in close proximity to them in Casas Grandes and having attended the LDS academy in Colonia Juárez.<sup>595</sup> Catholic, Protestant, Mennonite, and Mormon churches were all closed at one time or another. From the late 1920s through the mid-1930s, the Chihuahua legislature and governors also imposed ever stricter rules on the number of ministers legally allowed to serve the faithful in the

---

<sup>592</sup> Bantjes, *As if Jesus Walked on Earth*, p. 50.

<sup>593</sup> Bantjes, ‘Burning Saints, Molding Minds’, pp. 276-278.

<sup>594</sup> ‘Mormon Churches in Mexico are Closed’.

<sup>595</sup> See p. 227, footnotes 744, 745 and 746 of this thesis for more information on Quevedo’s closeness to the Mormons when growing up in Casas Grandes.

state.<sup>596</sup> These restrictions included pastors of non-Catholic churches, but on occasion, state and local authorities sometimes ignored them.<sup>597</sup>

**Figure 10 Legislation Restricting Priests in Chihuahua**

<b>Date of Restriction</b>	<b>Governor at Time of Restriction</b>	<b>"Legal" Priests Allowed To Serve in State</b>	<b>Inhabitants per Priest</b>
June 8, 1926	Jesús Antonio Almeida	45	9,000
December 7, 1931	Roberto Fierro Villalobos	9	45,000
March 24, 1934	Rodrigo Quevedo Moreno	4	100,000
April 25, 1936	Rodrigo Quevedo Moreno	1	Entire State

In Chihuahua, on a local basis Catholics protested and sometimes broke the law in their passion to restore their rights to worship under the direction of their priests. Sometimes, in violation of the ‘rules’ laid down by their bishop, they took up arms to defend their church.

A deadly confrontation occurred in Parral, Chihuahua, between Catholic supporters and federal troops on Wednesday, March 6, 1935. Initial accounts of this event indicated that from the municipal presidential palace in Parral, Chihuahua soldiers opened fire on a group of Catholics passing through the central plaza of that city. The faithful were heading towards five churches they opened without governmental authorities’ permission, thus setting up a confrontation.<sup>598</sup>

Other contemporary accounts indicated the local Catholics received information in advance that five city churches would be closed. They protested the closing of these churches by arming themselves and occupying them. The women also participated by praying in the sanctuaries before the icons and statues. News accounts portrayed the faithful as “ready to defend in blood and fire their rights to freedom of worship.”<sup>599</sup>

<sup>596</sup> Data for this chart taken from Savarino Roggero, *El Conflicto Religioso en Chihuahua*, p. 159; Almada, *Diccionario Historia*, pp. 30, 208-209, 437.

<sup>597</sup> Will, ‘The Mennonite Colonization of Chihuahua’, p. 357.

<sup>598</sup> Savarino Roggero, *El Conflicto Religioso en Chihuahua*, p. 174.

<sup>599</sup> Cinco Templos Balaceados en Parral, Chih., ‘1 muerto y 3 heridos al hacer tenaz resistencia los católicos’, *La Opinión - Los Angeles, California*, 9 March 1935, p. 8 <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn81004351/1935-03-10/ed-1/seq-8/>.

When the officials and soldiers arrived to seal the doors and dislodge those protecting the churches, the faithful fired on them from behind walls and the bell towers. The army returned fire, and general firefights ensued, with the greater firepower of the military prevailing. At least one dead and at least three wounded were the result.<sup>600</sup> This form of violence reflected the protest and power violence typical of Chihuahua in the 1930s. With passions running high and most of the confrontations involving arms, there were plentiful opportunities for violence, leading to death. There were few opportunities for either “side” in these local struggles to “win.”

Catholics were not the only religious group to protest, even at times against their own church as much as against the government. In 1936 Mexican Mormon converts rose together in a form of protest violence against their church to advocate for Mexican leaders over what they saw as an ancient Mexican-Jewish heritage.

Margarito Bautista, an early and well-known Mexican convert, helped lead a sizeable internal revolt against the Church of Jesus Christ of Later-day Saints church in Mexico in the 1930s. Weary of Anglo leadership and having had their request for Mexican leadership turned down three times, many mestizo church members rebelled, especially those from central and southern Mexico, where most Mexican converts lived. They formed a group known as the “Third Convention,” and in 1936, “walked out” of the church.<sup>601</sup> The following year, they formalized their own version of the church – The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Third Convention.”

---

<sup>600</sup> Churches are Fired On, ‘Archbishop is Freed After Fine Levied: Catholic Killed, Three Others Wounded in Gun Battle with Troops’, *The Brownsville Herald*, 10 March 1935, p. 1  
<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86063730/1935-03-10/ed-1/seq-1/>.

<sup>601</sup> Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico*, pp. 137-168. This chapter offers the reader an LDS perspective on the early events of the Third Convention.



Around thirty percent of all mestizo Mormons left the LDS church and started a uniquely Mexican version of the same.<sup>602</sup>

Those who left the church during the Third Convention represented a significant percentage of the converts from central Mexico. They were mestizo and Indigenous in their cultural affiliation. Religiously, they were proud of representing the Lamanite people who were, in LDS doctrine, descendants of the tribes of Israel – a part of the Jewish nation. They held a special place in the Book of Mormon history and the LDS future. All upper-level leaders of the Mexican LDS church were Anglo. The members who left were mestizo, Indigenous, Lamanites, heirs of the Abrahamic covenant, and Mexican by birth. Their consistent request was for leadership that honored and validated their race and creed.<sup>603</sup>

The initial response from the church was to ignore their request. The second was to indicate some day; the church might appoint local leaders in Mexico, but not because of requests or petitions from the members. When the answer to the third was still “not now,” they voted to leave in mass. The motive for the exodus from the church of one-third of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints members in central Mexico was complicated because it had religious, national, and Indigenous overtones. Their complaints reflected rising late-revolutionary Mexican nationalism, Indigenous identity, and their ownership of LDS religious teachings. As mestizos with Indigenous blood, they were the direct and special heirs of God’s covenantal relationship with Israel. For a period of time, Margarito Bautista was their leader.<sup>604</sup>

---

<sup>602</sup> Elisa E. Pulido, *The Spiritual Evolution of Margarito Bautista: Mexican Mormon Evangelizer, Polygamist Dissident, and Utopian Founder, 1878-1961* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 159-160.

<sup>603</sup> Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico*, pp. 137-168; Elisa E. Pulido, *The Third Convention, April 21, 1936* (2020), pp. 159-181.

<sup>604</sup> Pulido, *The Spiritual Evolution of Margarito Bautista*. Also available from Oxford University Press is the specific chapter from this book dealing with the Third Convention episode. It is found at Pulido, *The Third Convention*, 10.1093/oso/9780190942106.003.0009. The book version is the first full-length study by a professional historian of

Bautista was initially lauded as an early Latino convert, but the more he advocated for Mexican leadership, the less desirable was his presence as a leader of the LDS church in Mexico. For his leadership role in the Third Convention episode, he was excommunicated from the LDS church. Very soon thereafter he was excommunicated as well from the newly formed LDS Third Convention Church. Into the 1960s (he died in 1961) he continued to provide leadership to several LDS offshoot (fundamentalist) groups, including the Church of the Firstborn of the LeBarons and the Apostolic United Brethren, headquartered in Salt Lake City, whose prophet and president, Rulon Allred was born in Chihuahua. Several colonies and at least one church Bautista established remain to this day.

As noted, most Anglo-leaders of the LDS church in Mexico were based in Chihuahua, at or near the Mormon colonies. Many Mexican church members had awkward spiritual ties to the Chihuahuense Mormon colonies. In the late 1880s early 1890s, many Mexican mestizo and Indigenous converts to the church were encouraged to migrate from central Mexico to live in the Chihuahua colonies to enculturate them with Mormon doctrine, values, and culture.

This action was done in part to fulfill the Latter-day Saint theological concept of the “gathering” – bringing faithful members together to create a sacred gathering of adherents in one place.<sup>605</sup> This experiment in acculturation and gathering did not last long. Almost all the transplanted converts returned to central Mexico after a stressful time trying to acculturate in the colonies.<sup>606</sup>

---

the life of Margarito Bautista and his role in the Third Convention revolt. For a thorough study of the new church, the *Iglesia del Reino de Dios en su Plenitud* (IRDP) created out of the vestiges of this schism between Bautista and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, see *Dormady, Primitive Revolution*, pp. 63-101.

<sup>605</sup> Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico*, pp. 62-64. Tullis, an LDS historian also notes that this failed “gathering” of central Mexican LDS converts hurt the church’s proselytizing efforts in that part of Mexico for many years. The two groups were not reunited until 1947.

<sup>606</sup> Romney, *The Mormon Colonies in Mexico*, p. 92.

This negative experience is why I deem the spiritual ties between the central and southern Mexican LDS church members and the Chihuahua colonies “awkward.”

There was a direct connection between Chihuahua and the revolt. Almost all the Anglo-Mormon church leaders in Mexico came from the Chihuahua Mormon colonies or moved there when assigned leadership positions in Mexico. They were perhaps insensitive to or unaware of the dissatisfaction of their co-religionists in the mestizo Mexican Mormon communities. Pulido deems the exodus from the LDS church as an “ecclesiastical revolution” with a purpose to achieve ecclesiastical autonomy.”<sup>607</sup>

A fascinating report from the *New York Times*<sup>608</sup> highlights the confusion regarding the leadership of the Mexican Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Ministers were required to be Mexican citizens in the nation (per the 1917 Constitution). Under the orders of Governor Quevedo during the height of Chihuahuense anticlericalism, the enforcement of this requirement increased.

The church leaders in Salt Lake City are described as “puzzled” since most of their Anglo pastors and branch presidents were Mexican either by birth or naturalization. This confusion makes it clear that the leaders in Salt Lake City did not understand the problem of having Anglos or European Americans, even though they were Mexican citizens, serving as leaders of the local wards, missions, branches, and areas in late revolutionary Mexico.

In contrast to Porfirian xenophilia, in the late-revolutionary 1930s, the idea of Mexico as a nation grew. “Mexico for Mexicans” was the cry as native citizens, especially in Chihuahua, resented

---

<sup>607</sup> Pulido, *The Third Convention*, p. 180.

<sup>608</sup> ‘Salt Lake Officials Puzzled’, *New York Times*, 26 November 1934.

the influence, power, and wealth of the North Americans.<sup>609</sup> At the same time, the Anglo leaders of the church did not believe that the mestizo and Indigenous members were mature enough in the faith to assume leadership beyond the basic local level.<sup>610</sup> It did not help that Anglo leaders reacted strongly to the protest and excommunicated many of the group's leaders.

The conflict lasted so long and threatened the Mexican Mission that the President and Prophet of the church, George Albert Smith, eventually came to Mexico to finalize a peace arrangement. Church leaders at that time worried about how to help the protesters reunite with the church while protecting their personal *dignidad* (dignity), something the new Anglo leadership deemed critical.<sup>611</sup>

In this thesis, I have connected the concept of dignity with patrimony several times. This protest was representative of the search for patrimony and should be considered representative of a type of protest violence found in 1930s Chihuahua. By 1946 most of those who left in the embarrassing “exodus” returned to the LDS church. Those who did not return formed separate Mormon-related church organizations in Mexico and Puebla.

Some members of the new church, including Bautista, never returned. He was excommunicated by both the LDS church and the new LDS Third Convention church. He then formed a new church and, later, united with several different “fundamentalist” Mormon groups, one of which was located on a ranch that became the LeBaron pueblo in Chihuahua's Galeana

---

<sup>609</sup> Dormady, *Primitive Revolution*, p. 80. Dormady provides this powerful insight into the mindset of those who broke away, “To give up the birthright of Israel to the Anglos not only violated religious law, but the nationalist birthright as well.” These convert Mexican Mormons had been taught well that as Lamanites, they were the heirs of the promises made through the Old Testament covenant. For this and nationalist reasons, they revolted against the Latter-day Saint's mandate for Anglo leaders at all but the local level.

<sup>610</sup> We will see in a few pages how even the leadership of the Mexican branches in the northwestern Chihuahua colonies were Anglo as well. Orson Pratt Brown was the president of the Mexican ward of the LDS church in Colonia Dublán throughout the 1930s. At the same time, he earned his living defending the property rights of Anglo Mormons who had left Mexico during the turmoil of the revolution.

<sup>611</sup> Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico*, pp. 156-157.

Municipality. Another leader led another competitor church group in the United States and Mexico from Colonia Guadalupe, Chihuahua. Four Mexican states, Mexico, North Baja, Sonora, and Chihuahua would house these various offshoot competitive groups, each claiming the unique mantle of LDS authority.

Over the years, this protest violence successfully motivated change in the Mexican LDS Mormon church hierarchy. On the other hand, Margarito Bautista successfully created a new Mormon fundamentalist church separate from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, that of the *Iglesia del Reino de Dios en su Plenitud*, which continues today. Perhaps this protest violence was successful in both accomplishments.

During the same period of time, Catholic youths sought to create non-violent protests in support of their church. Often, however, they came to those protests armed, both physically and mentally, to defend their sacred patrimony. At times, their protests joined with those of others. The results were a violent exchange of both weapons and ideology.

Camargo is an important Chihuahuense city southeast of the state capital. On May 3, 1936, a significant event occurred in the central town plaza wherein an unknown number of people lost their lives. As seems to be the norm, there are various accounts of what happened to cause the violence.<sup>612</sup> A careful analysis requires careful consideration of differing reports of the event. What multiple sources seem to agree on is that a toxic mixture of youthful advocates for the Catholic church (ACJM members), labor union members (*syndicalistas*, most likely from the CROM union representing workers from the local Rio Florida Textile plant), municipal police, and

---

<sup>612</sup> Savarino Roggero, *El Conflicto Religioso en Chihuahua*, pp. 137-138. Savarino mentions this conflict, drawing his information from Contreras Orozco, *El mártir de Chihuahua*, pp. 147-154, who in turn uses Chavira Becerra, *Atras Quedo la Huella*, pp. 167-179 as his primary source. Thus, the chain of published information regarding this event relies heavily on a primary source, the first person account of Chavira Becerra, president of the ACJM chapter in Camargo.

federal soldiers were all armed and gathered in the town's central plaza.<sup>613</sup> They mixed together in the Plaza Miguel Hidalgo with hundreds, or more likely a thousand or more locals attracted to the event for their own specific reasons.<sup>614</sup>

ACJM youth (acejotaemeros) paraded through the city streets to protest the closing of churches. They gathered in the plaza together with the CROM union protestors. It is unknown precisely what the labor-related attendees were protesting. Officials requested the marchers' leaders to disperse the crowd, but they refused, and the police were called in. They could not break up the gathering. Federal troops were then called upon to keep the peace.<sup>615</sup>

"According to the messages received here, the occurrence might have passed without serious consequences, but someone pulled a pistol and killed Sergeant Rafael Rios Pacheco of the Federal troops. A general engagement then followed that resulted in the death of another Federal soldier and a Catholic youth participant, along with the wounding of another parade participant. Troops of the Twenty-third Regiment preserved order in the city."<sup>616</sup>

---

<sup>613</sup> Chavira Becerra, *Atras Quedo la Huella*, pp. 167-179. As noted, the foundational document for our knowledge of the event and its tragic consequences is a book written by Carlos Chavira Becerra, the local ACJM president and leader of the May 3, 1936 protest event in Camargo. It details his remembrances of the event. Chavira was the principal speaker and survived the event without being wounded. According to Manuel Rosales Villa, the Camargo municipal Cronista, Chavira wrote the book in the 1960s. The original typewritten text of the book is in Rosales' possession.

<sup>614</sup> Taking his numbers, from Chavira Becerra, *Atras Quedo la Huella*, p. 171, Contreras Orozco puts the total number of people at 3,000 in the one block square plaza. Contreras Orozco, *El mártir de Chihuahua*, p. 149. Cronista Rosales indicated to me that he did not believe there could have been that many assembled in the plaza. His estimate was that there were between five-hundred and one thousand in attendance.

<sup>615</sup> 6 Muertos al Ser Disueltos a Tiros 2 Mitines Catolicos, 'En Camargo las tropas federales entablaron un combate; varios heridos', *La Opinión - Los Angeles, California*, 4 May 1936 <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn81004351/1936-05-04/ed-1/seq-1/>>. This newspaper article blames the protest on the amendment of Article 130 of the 1917 Mexican constitution.

<sup>616</sup> 'Three Killed in Mexico as Catholics Parade: Two Soldiers and a Marcher are Slain in Clash - in the State of Chihuahua—One Wounded', *New York Times*, 5 May 1936. This article is incomplete and most likely does not reflect the total extent of those killed and wounded in the event. 'Sangrienta Manifestación Católica en Camargo, CHIH.' *El Siglo De Torreón*, May 4, 1936; This Mexican newspaper Article informs us that the same day there were also protests in Villa Saucillo and Villa Meoqui, pueblos just north of Camargo. This article lists four deaths from the Camargo event.

There is general agreement that the protest event was scheduled in response to Governor Rodrigo M. Quevedo's signing of a law,<sup>617</sup> just a few days earlier, on April 30, 1936,<sup>618</sup> limiting the number of legally registered priests to one for the entire state, effectively closing all Catholic churches in Chihuahua.<sup>619</sup>

Chavira quoted several of the speeches made by the young Catholic orators (both male and female) in his memoirs, including obreros (workers) from the textile mill who could have had a dual purpose, supporting the Catholics and their own worker's rights:

If by threats we renounce **our rights** to believe and to express ourselves, for the same reasons we would renounce the honor of our mothers or the bread of our families. . . . The laws cannot modify **the rights** with which we are born; for they are the **inalienable patrimony** of man. And as far as freedom is concerned, this is an indispensable premise for the individual to reach his ultimate goal (emphasis mine).<sup>620</sup>

Protestors and attendees at the event were well-armed with guns, knives, or clubs.<sup>621</sup> While speeches were being made, someone began shooting. Catholic leaders blamed the textile syndicalists for initiating the violence. According to Becerra, the army started machine-gunning the plaza, which Rosales denies. Soldiers, bystanders, and Catholic student protestors were killed and

---

<sup>617</sup> 'Chihuahua Curbs Church: Legislature Permits Only One Priest in Mexican State', *New York Times*, 25 April 1936.

<sup>618</sup> There is conflicting information as to whether the law was signed on April 25 or 30. Contreras Orozco identifies the law as decreto no. 183. Contreras Orozco, *El mártir de Chihuahua*, p. 147.

<sup>619</sup> 'Mexican Court Eases Church Law and Bars Arbitrary Quotas for Priests', 'Catholics Hail Ruling of Supreme Tribunal in Test of Chihuahua Statute by Three Priests Accused of Interference-Repeal of Similar Acts in Other States Seen', *New York Times*, 6 May 1937, p. 1, 13; Brown, 'Mexican Church-State Relations', p. 218. It is important to note that approximately one year after its implementation, the Supreme Court of Mexico ruled this Chihuahuense restriction to be "obviously political and therefore unconstitutional." Brown deems this decision "an especially significant victory for the cause of moderation."

<sup>620</sup> Chavira Becerra, *Atras Quedo la Huella*, p. 168.

<sup>621</sup> 23 February 2023 interview with Manuel Rosales Villa, *Cronista, Municipality of Camargo, Chihuahua*, Manuel Rosales Villa (Casa de Camargo Archives and Museum, 2023). It is important to note that the municipal historian in his accounts of the event, disagreed with a number of the details presented by Chavira Becerra in his book. Rosales Villa, the seventy year old official historian, credits his information as originating in interviews and conversations over thirty years with many of the actual attendees of the event. In interviews for this thesis, it was not unusual to be presented with widely differing accounts of the same events.

wounded in the ensuing mayhem. All accounts agree that the army quickly removed their dead and wounded.

At the same time, the students' families hid their dead and wounded to prevent reprisals by government forces against other members of their families. Because of this, we will never have an accurate account of those killed. Rosales believes there were between six and ten killed. The account in the New York Times indicates that three were killed. Chavira notes that only two bodies were left in the plaza after both soldiers and families quickly removed their dead and wounded.<sup>622</sup> The city declared martial law, and police and troops searched for perpetrators. The following week, approximately one hundred thirty-five men, women, and young people were arrested and taken to Ciudad Chihuahua, where they were incarcerated in the penitentiary. Numbered among these were the mother and brother of Chavira.<sup>623</sup>

This event was made more difficult by the attendance of those representing differing causes and complaints. The presence of the army and police only exacerbated the situation. From the speeches of the ACJM leaders, it is clear that they were protesting the loss of their rights as people of faith via the decree signed by Governor Quevedo only days earlier. They came to the event armed, as did police, soldiers, and members of the syndicalistas. This was an event demonstrating power violence on all sides. It was far from a peaceful protest.

---

<sup>622</sup> Victoria Chavira Rodríguez, *Número de muertos en Camargo Plaza 3 mayo 1945*, Philip R. Stover (Los Cabos, Baja to Mata Ortiz, Chihuahua, 2024). Thanks to former Chihuahua Governor Javier Corral and former federal diputado Jeffrey Jones, on January 15, 2024, I was able to have a digital (WhatsApp) conversation with Victoria Chavira Rodríguez, daughter of Carlos Chavira Becerra, the president of the ACJM in Camargo and leader of the protests on May 3. Victoria Chavira indicated to me that her father never talked with the children about the total number of people on all sides who were killed that day in Hidalgo Plaza in Camargo. His biography that includes a chapter on the incident does not provide specific details on the number of people killed that morning. Because of the rapid removal of bodies from the location, it seems that we will never have exactitude regarding the number on all sides of those killed, or the exact details that led to the protest turning violent.

<sup>623</sup> Chavira Becerra, *Atras Quedo la Huella*, p. 200.



Its unique characteristic is that it was fought in the central plaza of a large city. While we will never know the exact number of dead and injured, this remains a significant event in the collective memory of those involved and their descendants. It also provides insight into the activities and methods of the ACJM, the dominant Catholic youth organization in Mexico. It is an important link in the chain of events we know as La Segunda Cristiada. Given the various accounts, several of which include the machine-gunning of the plaza, I estimate the total killed at Rosales' high figure of ten (or possibly more) killed. This was a protest violence event that included the use of power by all participants.

One of the most important and enduring episodes of violence in Chihuahua's La Segunda was the beating death of Father Pedro Maldonado. That was a micro-event that had a macro impact on Catholics in Chihuahua. It was one in a series of events in the Santa Isabel area that included the November 1936 killing by Mexican troops of Jesús Manuel Ortega, a young ACJM supporter of Father Maldonado's work. Ortega's death is little known in the historiography of the time.<sup>624</sup>

A greater openness towards the clergy was observed in the Talamantes administration from 1936-1940. Despite this, the covert priest of Santa Isabel, Pedro Maldonado was attacked, dying the next day, on February 11, 1937. Like many Catholic priests around the country, Father Maldonado provided clandestine and technically illegal masses in homes and empty buildings. His ministry was in what today are the Riva Palacio and Santa Isabel municipalities southwest of Ciudad Chihuahua. In San Andrés, the municipal seat of Riva Palacio in the 1930s, Father Maldonado often held secret masses in a home just off the city square behind the local parish church.<sup>625</sup>

---

<sup>624</sup> Contreras Orozco, *El Mártir de Chihuahua*, pp. 380-383.

<sup>625</sup> Francisco Ortíz, *The Murder of Father Pedro Jesus Maldonado and the Clash between Federal Troop and Armed Agrarians near Ejido Bustillos, Chihuahua*, Francisco Ortíz (Office of the Cronista, San Andrés, Chihuahua, 2022). Oral Interview.

Born in Ciudad Chihuahua, Father Maldonado was ordained a priest in 1925 in El Paso. His parish ministry included serving as an exorcist. One night in February 1937, after serving a mass in the tiny village of Boquilla del Rio, he was attacked by a group of men. He was taken to the municipal presidency in General Trías (Santa Isabel), where he was beaten with rifle butts. Finally, taken by ambulance to Ciudad Chihuahua, he succumbed to his wounds and died.<sup>626</sup> Within days, two police officers and the mayor of General Trías (Santa Isabel) were charged with the crime and arrested.<sup>627</sup>

It will never be known with certainty whether his death was the result of an intentional and coordinated effort. His death resulted in a form of protest violence of over 100,000 Chihuahuenses in front of the government buildings in Ciudad Chihuahua. It was the largest demonstration in the state's history.<sup>628</sup> The power violence involved in Maldonado's death was pivotal in bringing disparate voices together to resolve the church-state issues, at least in Chihuahua. He was buried in the Cathedral in Chihuahua City. In 2000, Pope John Paul II canonized Father Maldonado as a saint.<sup>629</sup>

Disparate encounters across the state demonstrated the passion and readiness of those struggling to shed blood for their lost or delayed patrimony that manifested itself in the right to worship as they thought best in their own local interpretation of the practice of faith.

---

<sup>626</sup> Ramos González, *El Silencio de las Campanas*, pp. 32-38.

<sup>627</sup> Mexico's Church Conflict Spreads, 'Catholics in Coahuila and Chihuahua Demand Punishment of Slayer', *The Sunday Star*, 21 February 1937, B-5 <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1937-02-21/ed-1/seq-25/>.

<sup>628</sup> Ramos González, *El Silencio de las Campanas*, pp. 27-28.

<sup>629</sup> Gerald O'Rourke, *Martirio del Padre Pedro de Jesús Maldonado Lucero* (Mexico-Chihuahua: Editorial Basilio Nunez-Libreria El Sembrador, 2000).

## Educational Ideology Conflicts in Chihuahua

The conflicts of the 1930s in Chihuahua were indeed enmeshed in ways that made them difficult to sort through. For example, while the aforementioned Padre Maldonado was serving in a clandestine role as a priest in and around Santa Isabel, Chihuahua, a local “socialist” school in the tiny pueblo of La Boquilla del Río burned down. Savarino suggests that Padre Maldonado was apprehended, beaten, and killed because locals blamed him for the school’s destruction.<sup>630</sup> Agricultural, religious, and ideological issues often merged and were expressed in conflicts where it was difficult to ascertain the principal causal forces.

Luis Vargas Piñera was a native Chihuahuense who served as a teacher in several Chihuahua federal schools in Sonora and Northern Baja before being appointed Director General of Education for the entire state of Chihuahua from 1923 to 1929. He served the rest of his career in Mexico City, working in the Secretariat of Public Education of Mexico.<sup>631</sup> Vargas had a distinguished career in several states and the federal government. He and the Chihuahua state SEP inspector Albino Mireles were characterized as “strongly hostile” to both Catholic culture and the Church.<sup>632</sup>

Tensions across the state grew in 1933 when sex education began in SEP schools. The result was a decree from Bishop Guizar y Valencia to all the faithful in Chihuahua to boycott the public schools.<sup>633</sup> This form of protest violence was supported by faithful Catholics, including clandestine priests organizing and running alternative schools in homes and empty buildings. Padre Maldonado in Santa Isabel set up such a school. The Secretary General of Government retaliated with a public

---

<sup>630</sup> Savarino Roggero, *El Conflicto Religioso en Chihuahua*, p. 179.

<sup>631</sup> Almada, *Diccionario Historia*, p. 559.

<sup>632</sup> Savarino Roggero, *El Conflicto Religioso en Chihuahua*, p. 144.

<sup>633</sup> O'Rourke, *La Persecución Religiosa en Chihuahua*, pp. 97-103.

speech in which he declared anyone who opposed the educational plans of the state as backward and reactionary. These types of addresses were of a symbolic violence nature. Government officials believed they had the right to enforce any rules necessary to bring about the “new” Mexico.

Interestingly, in August 1933, Chihuahua was one of Mexico’s first states to experience federal control of its primary schools.<sup>634</sup> When the federal government takeover required schools to enroll both boys and girls in the same classrooms, a series of protests in Camargo, Chihuahua, resulted. These protests were led by a cross-section of the city’s populace.<sup>635</sup> It was a classic form of protest violence, but there is no evidence it successfully avoided the curriculum as designed by the state and federal government. Marak indicates that “more than any other factor, the anti-religious tenets of the federal government’s socialist education program elicited the greatest resistance.”<sup>636</sup>

Bishop Guizar Y Valencia was forced into exile, and to a large degree, the Catholic Church, the organization most opposed to Chihuahua’s educational revolution, was leaderless. Protests by lay leaders brought together members of Catholic groups to protest the closing of churches, exiling of priests, and the educational crisis in the state. There is little evidence, however, that except for the filing of a formal amparo (complaint) with the courts, any of these efforts were successful.

A series of tragic events unfolded over two days, Friday and Saturday, January 4 and 5, 1935, in Carichic (or Carichí), a tiny Southwest Chihuahua community in the Barranca

---

<sup>634</sup> Marak, ‘Federalization of education’, pp. 357-358, 369. There is confusion in this Marak source as to the exact date of the takeover. He lists both 1933 and 1935. It is mentioned that it was done under the governorship of Rodrigo Quevedo. He was governor in both years. It is most likely that 1933 is the correct date for a Chihuahua takeover of schools by the federal SEP.

<sup>635</sup> Marak, ‘Federalization of education’, p. 368, fn. 58. These protests involved a broad spectrum of leaders of the community.

<sup>636</sup> Marak, ‘Federalization of education’, p. 367.

Highlands.<sup>637</sup> There was a Catholic protest in that town against the “socialist” school in the community.<sup>638</sup> Tempers flared, and Gregorio Chávez, the municipal president, shot and killed two Catholics for refusing to deny their fealty to the Church.<sup>639</sup> He was then killed by the angry crowd.

One of the Catholic protesters was killed using the “ley de fuga” deception, which brought back the worst of the revolutionary period. In the “ley de fuga” an individual was offered the opportunity to try and escape from legal custody, most often on foot. The legal authority involved would then simply shoot, killing the person while trying “to escape” It was a way to render an extra-judicial punishment and avoid the legal process.

According to the Civil Registry of that community, Felipe Gutierrez, sixty-five years old, and Mariano Galvan, forty-six years old, were killed by bullets fired by Chávez. The gathered Catholics were incensed. Chávez was killed by shots fired from the crowd.<sup>640</sup> The *La Opinión* article indicates that the protestors dragged his corpse through the town streets, highlighting their anger.<sup>641</sup>

This episode had overtones of both religious and educational conflict. The two citizens protested because of the objection to the school but died because of their fidelity to the Catholic Church. Gregorio Chávez had been speaking out against Catholicism since he had been voted or

---

<sup>637</sup> For more information on the early years of Carichic, see Masten Dunne, *Early Jesuit Missions in Tarahumara*, pp. 106-107, 188-189, 224-227; Roca, *Spanish Jesuit Churches*, pp. 200-205.

<sup>638</sup> Mexican Catholics' Enemy is Lynched, *Washington Times*, 7 January 1935, p. 1 This article indicates that the local mayor was hung by the crowd. The death record of the mayor that I reviewed indicates that he died from multiple bullet wounds. The confusion was probably caused by the use of the Spanish word “linchado” for his death. It simply refers to a violent death by whatever means at the hands of an angry mob.

<sup>639</sup> Savarino Roggero, *El Conflicto Religioso en Chihuahua*, p. 173.

<sup>640</sup> “México, Chihuahua, Registro Civil, 1861-1997,” in *FamilySearch* (1861-1997) [https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33S7-95CN-9D7N?i=839&wc=MKZQ-C68%3A1021868501%2C1021874101+%3A+12+March+2018\)%2C+Carichi+%3E+Matrimonios%2C+defunciones+1873-1992+%3E+image+840+and+841+of+2144&cc=1922462](https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33S7-95CN-9D7N?i=839&wc=MKZQ-C68%3A1021868501%2C1021874101+%3A+12+March+2018)%2C+Carichi+%3E+Matrimonios%2C+defunciones+1873-1992+%3E+image+840+and+841+of+2144&cc=1922462). Savarino indicated that Chávez was hung by the crowd in revenge for the death of their compadres, but this Civil Registry record indicates that he died of bullet wounds.

<sup>641</sup> ‘Alcalde Linchado en Chihuahua’, *La Opinión - Los Angeles, California*, 8 January 1935, p. 1. As noted, the use of the term “linchado” in Spanish does not necessarily mean lynched, but killed in some way via assassination.

appointed (either could have been a possibility) into office.<sup>642</sup> Both protest and power violence were evidenced in this conflict.

By force, In 1934, the government took over both the local and the boarding school (for the Rarámuri) in the small but essential Barranca pueblo of Norogachi, Chihuahua.<sup>643</sup> On Tuesday, April 30, 1935, Arcadio Fernández, the priest overseeing the church, hospital, and schools, preached a “seditious” sermon to his Rarámuri followers. Following the sermon, he followed them up into the mountains where they had, under the leadership of Higinio Pérez taken up arms in protest against the government’s appropriation of their boarding school.<sup>644</sup> I was not able to determine the exact nature of any violence from this episode deep in the barranca region of Chihuahua. Nor could I find any further information about the activities of Fernández or Pérez.

Catholic schools were not the only schools closed in Chihuahua. The prestigious Palmoral Institute (Methodist) in Ciudad Chihuahua, as well as the Mennonite schools and the Mormon academy in Colonia Juárez, were closed.<sup>645</sup> According to the Brownsville Herald article, the Colonia Juárez Academy was closed by the director-general of education because “they failed to teach the doctrine of socialism and conducted classes in English.”<sup>646</sup>

In concluding this chapter, it is important to note that the history of political conflicts in Chihuahua from 1929 to 1932 was quite complicated and laden with violence, not all of which was

---

<sup>642</sup> “Alcalde Linchado’.

<sup>643</sup> For more information about the early years of the pueblo and mission Norogachi, see Roca, *Spanish Jesuit Churches*, pp. 70-72; Masten Dunne, *Early Jesuit Missions in Tarahumara*, pp. 224-227.

<sup>644</sup> Savarino Roggero, *El Conflicto Religioso en Chihuahua*, p. 174. Savarino names the village as Nogarachic. I have not been able to locate such a community. This seems to be a scrivener’s error and the correct name of the village was Norogachi, which to this day remains a center of Rarámuri village life. It has an active Catholic church, boarding school, and hospital. It is also the location of an important Rarámuri tribal center and capital.

<sup>645</sup> O'Rourke, *La Persecución Religiosa en Chihuahua*, p. 179; Schmiedehaus, *Dios es Nuestra Fortaleza*, pp. 151-160.

<sup>646</sup> ‘Mormon Schools in Chihuahua Closed’, *The Brownsville Herald*, 19 May 1935, p. 1. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86063730/1935-05-19/ed-2/seq-1/>.

deadly. From 1932 to 1940 under the administrations of two governors with quite different agendas there were regular outbreaks of violence for control of resources and power.

The Second Cristiada violence in Chihuahua related to sectarian and religious controversies was muted in comparison to other regions and states in Mexico. The strict controls on the church hierarchy in Chihuahua placed by Bishop Antonio Guizar y Valencia kept large scale revolts and Cristero militias from rebelling against a stridently anti-clerical government, especially during the leadership of Governor Quevedo. Chihuahua's sectarian violence was characterized by small scale local events that in their aggregate were very violent but did not involve the iconoclastic destruction of other states and regions. The fact that troops stationed in Chihuahua were sent by federal authorities to Sonora in the pivotal year of 1935 was evidence of this lack of large-scale violence.

A unique feature of the sectarian situation in Chihuahua was the presence of the Anglo Mormons and Mennonites. As will be seen, most of the conflicts within and between these groups and the local mestizo population were about land and water rights. Religion was a distancing mechanism, but not one that in and of itself created instances of power violence.

In the same way, while there were many localized protests and rigorous debates in Chihuahua, there was little overt violence caused by the new educational ideologies sanctioned by the state and federal governments. Protests were usually related to moves to educate boys and girls together, especially without consultation with parents. Especially noteworthy, while not necessarily successful, was the work of the state and federal educational department to improve the schools among the Rarámuri people in the Barranca region.

Chapter four is an overview of the conflicts in Chihuahua over the issue of ownership and management of natural resources, namely water and land. In every part of Chihuahua, these were the primary causes of the most violent conflicts in the 1930s.

## Chapter Four

### *Chihuahua: An Unsatisfied Hunger* **Conflicts over Ownership and Control of Natural Resources: Land and Water**

The intent of chapter four is to provide information and analysis on a series of events in the State of Chihuahua from 1929-1940 that highlight a series of conflicts over the ownership, control, and usage of natural resources in that state. These microevents manifested tensions in the state regarding agriculture and water usage. Since one of the two aspects of patrimony discussed in chapter one includes the claim to resources, these conflicts over natural resources are central to the discussion of nature of La Segunda in Chihuahua.

Actual land reform and distribution progressed more rapidly in southern and central Mexico than in the north. In Chihuahua, four factors worked against land distribution: the strength of the hacendado system and its elites, significant foreign ownership of vast swathes of land, the resistance of eleven-time Governor Ignacio C. Enríquez and his legacy of successors who were firmly in opposition to the ejido concept, and the stalwart individualist nature of the northerner, preferring to own their own land, however small might be the parcel.<sup>647</sup>

Enríquez was a consistent and strong proponent of private ownership of small parcels of land instead of the ejido structure. A graduate of the agronomy department at the University of

---

<sup>647</sup> For more information on Governor Ignacio C Enríquez see Almada, *Diccionario Historia*, pp. 188-189. His lengthy and significant engagement in both Chihuahuense and Mexican federal government is worthy of a biography.



Illinois, his influence in this regard would endure from the 1910s into the early 1930s. These four limiting factors only decreased the pace and satisfaction of those who wanted to expedite reforms in Chihuahua.<sup>648</sup>

It is curious and somewhat confusing that Aguilar and Meyer state that by 1930, land distribution was “declared completed in Querétaro, Nuevo Leon, **and Chihuahua** (emphasis mine)” They also imply that the Ortiz Rubio regime declared that “land distribution had “officially ended” in twelve federation entities (presumably including Chihuahua).<sup>649</sup> This declaration would have surprised those ejido supporters in Chihuahua who were clamoring for land into the 1930s.

During the 1930s, agrarian issues were particularly volatile in Chihuahua. In the first year of the Cárdenas term as president (1935), there appeared to be widespread discontent. This unhappiness included dissatisfaction and conflicts between landless ejidos and ejidatarios who sought more property from the government, small landowners, and hacendados, both foreign and Mexican.<sup>650</sup> There were few in the state on any side of the ejido question who were contented with the status quo.

Poor infrastructure, climactic conditions, lack of capital, and meager prices paid for agricultural resources, from cattle to cotton, were severe problems.<sup>651</sup> Those entering the twentieth century’s fourth decade did so with an unsatisfied hunger to realize many unfulfilled promises related to equity in land distribution and means of production. In the same year, 1935,

---

<sup>648</sup> For more information about the slowness of land distribution in the north, see Aboites Aguilar, *Breve historia de Chihuahua*, pp. 144-148.

<sup>649</sup> Aguilar Camín and Meyer, *In the Shadow of the Mexican Revolution*, p. 115.

<sup>650</sup> Nugent, *Spent Cartridges of Revolution*, pp. 102-103, 115-117, 138-139. The ejido policies and laws were sometimes the friend and at other times the enemy of the local campesino who hungered for his own land to work. At times the locals in effect lost local control over their own destiny by insisting on the formation of an ejido. It was a complicated relationship that is effectively explained in the examples provided by Nugent.

<sup>651</sup> Aboites Aguilar, *Breve historia de Chihuahua*, pp. 149-150.

Joseph Pyke was the British Consul General in Mexico.<sup>652</sup> In a report back to London, he noted that in Chihuahua, “feeling . . . among landowners and industrialists is particularly bitter at the agrarian and labour policies of the government.”<sup>653</sup>

In Chihuahua, legal state-supervised land distribution officially began on February 24, 1905, under Governor Enrique Creel.<sup>654</sup> Chihuahua was a tight-knit state where in the majority, the members of the small, localized elite, often with powerful familial and political ties, received the benefit of the early distribution.<sup>655</sup>

As has been demonstrated, large haciendas and foreign corporations already owned a significant portion of the land. The disinterested attempts at distribution did not, in considerable measure, harm their position, nor did it materially change the situation for the poor. It was those in the becoming-powerful-middle-class in Chihuahua who chiefly benefited from this new law. Mauro and Silvestre Quevedo, two cousins of the future governor from the Casas Grandes region, are two examples who will suffice to illustrate this point.<sup>656</sup>

Land use for crop production in Chihuahua in the early 1930s is difficult to assess for several reasons. First, it is primarily a cattle or beef-producing state.<sup>657</sup> Of the total area of the state, 58.2 percent of its land was designated pasture, surpassed only by Zacatecas at 62.5 percent and

---

<sup>652</sup> The British Museum, *Joseph Pyke: Information*  
<<https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG127410>>.

<sup>653</sup> Pyke, Mexico City, to Foreign Office, 29 November 1935, FO 371/18707, 10787 in Knight, 1994', p. 83.

<sup>654</sup> Robert J. Knowlton, 'El Ejido Mexicano en el Siglo XIX', *Historia Mexicana*, XLVIII.1 (1998), 71-96 (pp. 88-90).

<sup>655</sup> Lloyd, *Rancheros and Rebellion*, pp. 107-133. Lloyd provides the reader a summary of the early pre-revolutionary land situation in Chihuahua, especially in the northwestern region of the state.

<sup>656</sup> Israel Sandre Osorio, 'Disputas por el Agua del Rio Casas Grandes, Chihuahua: Colonias, Ejidos y Pequeñas Propiedades', *Boletín del Archivo Histórico del Agua*, 12.36 (2006), 59-69 (p. 59).

<sup>657</sup> M. S. Pérez Martínez (ed.), *Agostaderos y ganado, tradición y patrimonio de Chihuahua: 80 años de historia 1936-2016* ([Chihuahua], San Antonio Tlayacapan, Chapala, Jalisco: Unión Ganadera Regional de Chihuahua, UGRCH; Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia; Amaroma Ediciones, 2016) This book is a review of the cattle industry and organization in Chihuahua from late-revolutionary to modern times.

Coahuila at 65 percent.<sup>658</sup> Second, the various statistics provided in reports are for “principal” crops which do not include the vast fruit production of the Mormons (bananas are the only fruit included). Third, despite its immense territory, much of its land is mountainous, rocky, and desert, not arable for crop production. Chihuahua has some of the driest and coldest conditions of any state in Mexico. Fourth, Chihuahua was the location for many large and frequent revolutionary battles. Agricultural land was devastated by the various armies, fencing was virtually non-existent, and infrastructure had largely been destroyed.

Chihuahua was first of the thirty-one listed states and the federal district in the amount of available cropland listed as “potential” but not actually being used.<sup>659</sup> Finally, by the early thirties, the Mennonites struggled to use their vast knowledge of agriculture in a Chihuahuense environment. It is also likely that the most conservative would not have shared their production results with government officials.

At any rate, Chihuahua ranked 15<sup>th</sup> of 31 states and the federal district in the value of principal crop production in 1930. It ranked third in the value of principal crop production grown on ejido properties and 29<sup>th</sup> in the value of principal crop production from privately owned land.<sup>660</sup> This great disparity may be explained in that much of the land on Chihuahua’s enormous hacienda (privately-owned) properties was dedicated to cattle production. These huge cattle ranches produced feed to meet their own needs, not to sell on the market. Therefore, much of the value of their production was never sold. Because of that, it was not included in these calculations.

---

<sup>658</sup> Eyer N. Simpson, *The Ejido: Mexico's Way Out: Table 11 - Utilization of Land by States, 1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937), pp. 600-601. All of the data recorded on this, and the next page are for 1930.

<sup>659</sup> Eyer N. Simpson, *The Ejido: Mexico's Way Out: Table 13 - Crop Land Actual and Potential Compared With All Other Types of Land, by States, 1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937), pp 604-605.

<sup>660</sup> Eyer N. Simpson, *The Ejido: Mexico's Way Out: Table 81 - Value of Principal Crops Produced in Ejidos. Compared with Privately-Owned Farms, by States 1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937), p. 700.

It is unknown what percentage of total agricultural land was used for cattle production or for the feed necessary to sustain that effort. Chihuahua was ranked first overall for hectares of land listed as in agricultural use while being ranked 29<sup>th</sup> in number of agricultural workers available per hectare of agricultural land.<sup>661</sup> These data provide insight into why federal and state governments were willing to make concessions for colonizers willing to emigrate into the state.

From the 1920s on, conflicts over land rights, private ownership, and ejido petition and creation arose all across the State of Chihuahua. This portion of chapter four will investigate a representative sample of such conflicts, some of which were deadly, others involved protests and destruction of property. Chihuahua was rarely, if ever consistent or unified on the implementation of its laws, policies or the enforcement of the same. These micro-conflicts reached their apex in the turmoil of the 1930s. The first such event that I found took place near the end of the 1920s in northern Chihuahua on property that was owned by a US corporation, the Corralitos Ranch and its subsidiary, the Corralitos Candelaria Mining Company.<sup>662</sup>

Using the vast Corralitos ranch in northwestern Chihuahua as an example, in 1927, just before the timeline of this thesis, a set of circumstances occurred that deserve our attention. This foreign-owned (a USA corporation) ranch, significantly larger than the state of Rhode Island in the United States, had more than 1,500,000 acres, including five separate huge ranches.<sup>663</sup> In July 1927, the National Agrarian Commission assigned “a great deal of the lands” of the ranch to the local

---

<sup>661</sup> Eyer N. Simpson, *The Ejido: Mexico's Way Out: Table 4 - Density of Total Population With Respect to Total Area Compared With Density of Economically Active Population with Respect to Agricultural Land* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937), pp. 590-591.

<sup>662</sup> A useful history of this huge US-based ranch and mining enterprise is Campbell, *The History of the Corralitos Ranch*.

<sup>663</sup> Campbell, *The History of the Corralitos Ranch*, p. 33.

Casas Grandes Ejido for community property.<sup>664</sup> While the ranch retained significant land, the government's action indeed decreased its immense size.

In April of the same year, the *El Tucsonese* Spanish language newspaper reported a violent death that most likely was related to this redistribution of Corralitos land. It was a harbinger of violence to come.<sup>665</sup> The article reports the murder of Pedro Marmolejo, dying of asphyxiation from being burned alive. The article incriminates someone named Will Adams and his vaqueros in the terrible murder, either at Adams' order by his hand.<sup>666</sup>

It also states that the murder occurred on Rancho Las Varas, one of the five previously mentioned ranches that together made up the Corralitos ranch. I was able to track down the great-grandnephew of Pedro Marmolejo, Julián Contreras Álvarez, and interview him via Messenger about the specifics of his ancestor's death.<sup>667</sup> With the assistance of local historians, I also was able to locate the official death certification of Pedro Marmolejo in the Casas Grandes civil registry archive.<sup>668</sup> It confirms all the facts as recorded in the newspaper, plus it adds that four men, Bill Adams, Emilio Medina, Miguel Terrazas, and Carlos Salais (unsure of the spelling of this last name), were charged by the authorities for the crime of murder and clandestine burial of Pedro Marmolejo.

---

<sup>664</sup> Campbell, *The History of the Corralitos Ranch*, p. 357. In Campbell's words, "Gone were the million plus acres of the rich and lush valley of the Casas Grandes River."

<sup>665</sup> Un Vaquero Mexicano Muerto en Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, Mex., *El Tucsonense*, 21 April 1927, p. 1 <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn95060694/1927-04-21/ed-1/seq-1/>.

<sup>666</sup> Annie R. Johnson, *Heartbeats of Colonia Diaz* (Mesa, AZ: Publishers Press (Printer), 1972), pp. 312-314, 345; familysearch.org, *United States Census, 1940: Entry for William Adams and Adeline Adams, 1940* <<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:K47C-PQ4>>. This book is a large, somewhat obscure collection of family and Mormon colony history. It details the life of the Mormon Colonia Díaz, just north of Ascension, not thirty miles from the Rancho Corralitos. Will Adams Jr was a son of Will Adams Sr. who was killed in a gunfight in Colonia Díaz in 1912. Family history (1940) census records show Will Adams Jr. living in Colonia Dublán, south of the Corralitos Ranch in 1935 and in El Paso, TX in 1940.

<sup>667</sup> Julián Contreras Álvarez, *Death of Pedro Marmolejo*, Julián Contreras Álvarez (Online Interview, 2023).

<sup>668</sup> *Persona 8 - Defunción de Pedro Marmolejo*, 18 April, 1927, Registro civil en Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, pp. 17-19. The certification lists cause of death as asphyxiation due to the burning of his body while he was still alive.

Contreras informed me that his family history indicated that Pedro was a former villista who was a leader of a local agrarian movement. Further, he stated that Will Adams was a manager on the Corralitos ranch and was directly involved in the murder of this agrarian advocate as a warning to others who might follow in Marmolejo's footsteps.<sup>669</sup>

In traditional Mormon style, Hugh Adams, son of Will Adams' brother wrote up a brief life history to pass on to his descendants. In this personal diary, Hugh gives an account of his time, living and helping his uncle on the Corralitos ranch. At one point, Hugh recalls:

Somebody shot a Mexican on the ranch and buried him there. After a few days, his leg popped out of the ground and Uncle Bill was accused of the killing. Needless to say, Uncle Bill had to make a quick trip to the border and into El Paso, Texas. Soldiers came and surrounded the house and stayed until they were sure Uncle Bill wasn't there.<sup>670</sup>

While this neither confirms nor denies the accounts in the newspaper or the civil register, it is one more piece of evidence of the event. From all evidence I can find in LDS archives, it appears that Will Adams lived in the United States after 1935. He died and was buried in the Santa Teresa, New Mexico cemetery.<sup>671</sup> By whoever perpetrated it, this gruesome murder may have been a precursor of the violence to come between foreign owners, migrants, and agrarians in the struggle for land.

In a few years, the remainder of the Corralitos ranch was subdivided by its owners and sold to different buyers. One of whom was Governor Rodrigo Quevedo, who obtained large properties spread out over the vast region.<sup>672</sup> He then sold most of the land he bought, and one of the parcels

---

<sup>669</sup> Contreras Álvarez, *Death of Pedro Marmolejo*.

<sup>670</sup> Hugh Adams, *Hugh Adams Childhood*

<[https://www.familysearch.org/photos/artifacts/168412963?p=53199727&returnLabel=Willie%20Hugh%20Adams%20\(KWZY-532\)&returnUrl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.familysearch.org%2Ftree%2Fperson%2Fmemories%2FKWZY-532](https://www.familysearch.org/photos/artifacts/168412963?p=53199727&returnLabel=Willie%20Hugh%20Adams%20(KWZY-532)&returnUrl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.familysearch.org%2Ftree%2Fperson%2Fmemories%2FKWZY-532)>.

<sup>671</sup> findagrave.com, *Memorial page for Bill Adams (1889-1979): Find a Grave Memorial ID 126585894*.

<sup>672</sup> Campbell, *The History of the Corralitos Ranch*, pp. 358-360.

was resold to become Capulin, a mid-twentieth century Mennonite settlement (campo) in northwestern Chihuahua.<sup>673</sup> As for the campesinos, only a relatively small group were awarded land; the cycle of delayed and lost patrimony went on for most.

In 1938 Lázaro Cárdenas pushed through a new set of land laws to aid those involved in states like Chihuahua with rich cattle production. These new laws were known by an officious-sounding name, “decretos de inafectabilidad” or “decrees of inafectabilities.” They were designed to acknowledge that cattle ranchers needed more land than crop growers. What they failed to take into consideration was that ranchers were both cattle herders and growers. Many found it better to grow their own alfalfa, or whatever cattle feed they chose, instead of buying it at a markup from agriculturalists like the Mennonites, who were by that time producing vast quantities of animal feed.

The land was not the only natural resource to cause conflict. By the mid-1930s, lumbering and mining industries in northwestern Chihuahua peaked and began declining. Agriculture became more prominent, especially as fruit production grew incrementally and more ejidos were created from previously fallow land. These three factors created an urgency in the development of new water policies that reflected fairness and equity for all. Indeed, water availability and access in an often dry land (depending on the season) was a customary right and an essential component of patrimony.

Both private land sales and ejido grants created problems for those who acquired property rights but failed to include the concomitant water rights to the *acequias* or irrigation ditches that crisscrossed the land. Thus, more people competed for the same amount of water. Many irrigation ditches and the water therein were privately built and maintained, therefore considered private property.

---

<sup>673</sup> Sawatzky, *They Sought a Country*, pp. 178-180.

Groups like the Mormons and Mennonites in northwest Chihuahua invested vast sums of money and labor into building and maintaining irrigation canals, ditches, and ponds, complete with machinery to draw out the water from its source and, in some cases, pump it for many kilometers.<sup>674</sup> Accusations of water hoarding were a big enough problem on April 7, 1938, that hundreds of protesters from many local ejidos marched in front of the Municipal Presidency in Nuevo Casas Grandes (See **Figure 14**, p. 262). On the same day, Women's Leagues sent a telegram to President Cárdenas requesting that he intervene with the Mormons to stop hoarding water since their wheat crops were dying in the fields from lacking this "precious element" (See **Figure 18**, p. 266).<sup>675</sup> The quest for water rights, *usos y costumbres* (customary uses) became a significant and sometimes violent issue all across Chihuahua.

### **Agrarian Conflicts in Chihuahua from 1929-1940**

Tensions over the economy, drought, and uncertainty in the state and local leadership over land rights created violent micro-events across Chihuahua. Protests, destruction of property, and violence (including fatalities) were the result. Some little-known and rarely-recorded events are included in the following research. As previously noted, these events themselves form the mosaic that manifests the bulk of the body of evidence representing La Segunda in Chihuahua.

Virtually every day between the 5<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> of September of 1931, newspaper headlines trumpeted warnings of agrarian violence in many parts of Chihuahua, including the death of

---

<sup>674</sup> Sandre Osorio, 'Disputas por el Agua del Rio Casas Grandes', p. 60.

<sup>675</sup> Julia Flores de Muñoz, *Telegram Appealing to President Cárdenas for Assistance with Mormon Water Hoarding*, 7 April 1938, Archivo Histórico del Estado de Chihuahua, Caja 2; Expediente 19. See **Figure 18**, p. 266 for the image of the original telegram found in the mixed agrarian archives (SCAMEC) in Ciudad Chihuahua.



agrarians.<sup>676</sup> The violence stemmed from an order from Governor Andrés Ortiz that all agrarians in the state be disarmed. According to the news account, the governor resorted to violence to enforce his orders.<sup>677</sup>

To better understand the anger of the agrarians, it needs to be pointed out that previous governors had armed them, principally during the time period of the Escobar Rebellion. They were armed by orders of the federal army in Chihuahua to help them in case the rebellion spread across the state from its entrance in the southeast from Torreón, Coahuila in 1929.<sup>678</sup> The entire situation was complex since various state governments and ejido groups preferred either the federal forces or the escobaristas. Ignoring the immense popularity of General and former Governor Marcelo Caraveo who had joined the escobaristas, the hope of the army was for the support of the agrarians against the rebels.<sup>679</sup>

Several agrarians were killed by “state forces” as they resisted the order to disarm.<sup>680</sup> In Ciudad Juárez in the north, nine hundred agrarians protested the order to disarm.<sup>681</sup> In the Sierra Madres in southwestern Chihuahua, agrarians resisted the order, refusing to surrender that which gave them some sense of control over their destiny. They were both the victims and perpetrators of violence.

---

<sup>676</sup> ‘Agrarians Killed in Chihuahua: State’s Congressmen Deny Their Fight on Ortiz Caused by Gambling Troops Resisted Charge Governor Resorting to Violence in Attempt to Disarm Bands’, *El Paso Times*, 5 September 1931, p. 1 ‘Agrarians in Juárez Fight Ortiz: Offer Opposition Candidate for Mayor to Governor’s Choice in Mass Meeting’, *El Paso Times*, 7 September 1931, p. 1; ‘Otra Acusacion a Los Agraristas’, *La Opinión - Los Angeles, California*, 9 September 1931, p. 8; ‘Charge Head of Agrarians with Revolt: Leaders of Farmers Reply They’re Loyal to Government Governor under Fire Ranchers Opposing Official Say Attempts Made to Kill Them’, *El Paso Herald-Post*, 10 September 1931, p. 1; ‘Mexican Chiefs Escape Bullets’, *The Brownsville Herald*, 11 September 1931, p. 12.

<sup>677</sup> ‘Agrarians Killed in Chihuahua’.

<sup>678</sup> ‘Agrarians Killed in Chihuahua’.

<sup>679</sup> Aboites Aguilar, *Norte precario*, pp. 228-238; Dulles, *Yesterday in Mexico*, pp. 436-450.

<sup>680</sup> ‘Agrarians Killed in Chihuahua’.

<sup>681</sup> ‘Agrarians in Juárez Fight Ortiz’.

A group of five members of the CNA — Comisión Nacional Agraria de Chihuahua were inspecting agricultural areas east of Cuauhtémoc, near the current city of Anáhuac (then known as Colonia Gardea) when a group of ten masked men, mounted on horseback, fired upon them.<sup>682</sup> Later, the same day they were fired upon again. They escaped due to the speed of their automobile and the poor aim of their attackers, who apparently were fellow agraristas opposed to Governor Andrés Ortiz Arriola.<sup>683</sup> No injuries were mentioned in either newspaper article covering the event. Attempted murder and charges of rebellion were filed against local agrarian leaders, some of whom were incarcerated because of the severity of the charges. Those charged claimed they were fighting against persecution of their rights by the current Chihuahuense government.<sup>684</sup>

In the ensuing struggles many agrarians were arrested. There were widespread complaints about the abridgement of basic civil rights.<sup>685</sup> One agrarian leader complained bitterly in a telegram to famed General Saturnino Cedillo, then serving as federal Secretary of Agriculture. In part it read, “Gov. Andres Ortiz is over-running agrarians of my district, has attacked me, attempted to assassinate me, has accused me of rebellion and is intimidating other agrarian officials. We seriously fear for our lives. We ask our constitutional guarantees.”<sup>686</sup> Of course, in turn the agrarians did not shrink from using force in this protracted conflict for their own rights and patrimony.

These acts were forms of power violence. They succeeded in attracting attention and charges to themselves but, in spite of the violence on all sides, did not significantly change the

---

<sup>682</sup> ‘Mexican Chiefs Escape Bullets’ ‘Agraristas de Chihuahua Acusados de Rebelión: Varios Fueron Capturados, Se Informo Ayer’, *La Opinión - Los Angeles, California*, 12 September 1931, p. 7 <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86063730/1931-09-11/ed-1/seq-12/>.

<sup>683</sup> Somewhat typical of the chaos of the position of governor in Chihuahua in the early 1930s was the fact that Andrés Ortiz served in that position on seven different occasions. Gobernadores del Estado, *Gobernadores del Estado 2016*.

<sup>684</sup> Agraristas de Chihuahua Acusados de Rebelión, ‘Varios Fueron Capturados, Se Informo Ayer’, *La Opinión - Los Angeles, California*, 12 September 1931, p. 7.

<sup>685</sup> ‘Queja Contra El Gobernador Ortiz’, *La Opinión - Los Angeles, California*, 10 September 1931, p. 4.

<sup>686</sup> ‘Charge Head of Agrarians with Revolt’.

circumstances of their agrarian situation. Those hacendados (whether old or new, foreign or native) with influence and access to the courts and the law maintained their land. Those who could only resort to protest and violence were less successful in obtaining their desired land.

The Guerrero district and municipality were well-known as hotspots of the revolution in Chihuahua. This was also true in the 1930s during *La Segunda*. Local leaders fought the state and each other in their attempts to control the region, together with its rich resources.<sup>687</sup>

According to the newspapers, less than one month after the previous mentioned incidents and only eighty kilometers west of the site of some of the worst violence, three police officers were killed, and more than twenty agrarians barricaded themselves in Rancho La Cueva, near San Ignacio, Chihuahua on October 5, 1931. Officers Gabino Chavez, Victoriano Holguin, and Martin Garcia, were shot and killed by at least four agrarians. This conflict was cited in various newspapers on October 13 and 14.<sup>688</sup> San Ignacio is a tiny village (a barrio of historic Santo Tomás) on the banks of the Papigochic River in the Guerrero Municipio of southwestern Chihuahua.<sup>689</sup> As noted, the Guerrero District was known as the cradle of the revolution in both Chihuahua and Mexico.<sup>690</sup>

The Papigochic River Valley was known for the rebellions against government and outside influence, especially those of Tomóchi and Santo Tomás in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Such conflicts and rebellions were associated with Santo Tomás in 1856, 1876, 1893, and

---

<sup>687</sup> Aboites Aguilar, *Norte precario*, pp. 213-272.

<sup>688</sup> 'Cops Reported Killed', *The Brownsville Herald*, October 13 and 14, 1931, pp. 2 and 8 'Mexico Troops Hunt Slayers: Charge San Ignacio Agrarians with Fatal Shooting', *El Paso Herald-Post*, 13 October 1931, p. 2. The same articles were repeated in many other US newspapers.

<sup>689</sup> Almada, *Diccionario Historia*, p. 484. I found the correct San Ignacio mentioned as number 5 in a listing for San Ignacio in Almada's reference source for Chihuahuense geography.

<sup>690</sup> Diaz Troops Quit Guerrero, *The New York Times*, 5 February 1911, p. 2. As early as 1911, it is clear that rebels controlled this large area. According to a contemporary account in the *New York Times*, in the face of Maderista rebels, the federal troops had already abandoned this region.

1910.<sup>691</sup> It is possible, even likely that the violence of the area in 1931 was a continuation of the agrarian rebellion and phrase that Ruben Osorio coined, and Alonso borrowed, “The Thread of Blood” in serrano Chihuahua.<sup>692</sup>

According to his death record, Chavez was twenty-one years old and died from six bullet wounds.<sup>693</sup> Holguin was 33 years old and had two bullet wounds, one in his body and one in his head.<sup>694</sup> Martin Garcia’s death record could not be found. The wounds appear to be that of an assassination. This and the previously-mentioned event certainly may have been connected to agrarian discontent in this geographical area of Chihuahua. It is possible that this specific conflict was that referred to by Aboites Aguilar in his reference to the local leader Andrés Mendoza who led a group of agrarians in the killing of “traitors.” Aboites mentions that after these killings Mendoz and his followers had to hide in the mountains.<sup>695</sup> These bear a lot of similarity to the events described in the newspaper account.

The fact that the newspaper accounts specifically identified the perpetrators as agrarians fits the narrative of these months of turmoil in 1931. Several of the accounts mention that at least ten municipal guards were detached from Chihuahua City to apprehend the perpetrators.<sup>696</sup> This act appears to be an act of power violence. The number of attackers and wounds indicate an intent to

---

<sup>691</sup> Sources for this information include: Alonso, *Thread of Blood*, pp. 3, 134, 139; Nugent, *Spent Cartridges of Revolution*, p. 67.

<sup>692</sup> Alonso, *Thread of Blood*, p. 3.

<sup>693</sup> ‘México, Chihuahua, Registro Civil, 1861-1997’, in *FamilySearch* <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33SQ-G5CV-9Q3T?cc=1922462&wc=MKZ7-7MS%3A1021875201%2C1021886401> : 12 March 2018), Rosario > Matrimonios, defunciones 1893-1982 > image 723 of 1135.

<sup>694</sup> ‘México, Chihuahua, Registro Civil, 1861-1997’, in *FamilySearch* <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33SQ-G5CV-9QJ8?cc=1922462&wc=MKZ7-7MS%3A1021875201%2C1021886401> : 12 March 2018), Rosario > Matrimonios, defunciones 1893-1982 > image 724 of 1135.

<sup>695</sup> Aboites Aguilar, *Norte precario*, p. 233 fn. 69.

<sup>696</sup> ‘Mexico Troops Hunt Slayers’.

and success in killing the officers. This last round of violence in 1931 brought an end to the many sojourns of Andrés Ortiz as governor of Chihuahua. On November 2, 1931, he was forced to resign for the final time.<sup>697</sup>

The area just east of Cuauhtemoc and around Laguna Bustillos was a broad and fertile area. It was the center of land disputes for years. Forces who wanted to preserve as much land as possible for the old hacienda lifestyle, those who wanted to purchase small properties which they would own and work as they pleased, and those who wanted to create the promised ejido lifestyle for which they had fought in the revolution, all competed to fulfil their dream. The first were the rich elite – the hacendados; the second were the rancheria middle class who could afford to buy their own land; the last were the campesinos without the resources to purchase, but who wanted a place to call their own. Each group had its own idea of the patrimony it deserved. Conflicts over roads, fences, pastures, livestock, water rights were only a few of the challenges the long-time residents and newly arrived immigrants (both Mennonites and those from other parts of Chihuahua) faced.<sup>698</sup>

Add into this caldo of conflict, the instability of what was indeed a weak state government, and the pot was ready to boil over. This eventuality did indeed occur, near the small village of Zamaloapan. It is known in history as the “*Matanza* (slaughter) of Zamaloapan.”<sup>699</sup>

In the broad Bustillos Valley, on July 12, 1932, almost thirty-five miles slightly southwest of Ciudad Chihuahua, a sad conflict occurred between armed local agrarians and the federal army. It is the home of the well-known Hacienda Bustillos, where Francisco Madero, Francisco Villa,

---

<sup>697</sup> Almada, *Diccionario Historia*, p. 384.

<sup>698</sup> Aboites Aguilar, *Norte precario*, pp. 187-238. Aboites’ overview of the conflicts in this part of Chihuahua reveals how even events that happened during the Escobar Rebellion on a national level impacted this isolated rural area.

<sup>699</sup> Aboites Aguilar, *Norte precario*, p. 235, fn. 75. Aboites goes into great depth on the various conflicts in this region and time. He then only mentions the “*matanza*” or slaughter in a footnote.

Pascual Orozco, and others came together to establish their strategy for a northward march to attack Ciudad Juárez and depose long-time Mexican president Porfirio Díaz.

Ejido Bustillos is small, forgotten, and often confused with the much larger Valle Bustillos. More often than not, the larger neighboring town of Anáhuac is often credited as the location of the Hacienda Bustillos.<sup>700</sup> As its name suggests, Ejido Bustillos is an agricultural village whose only governmental structure is its ejido's leadership committee. Today, its claim to fame is having an elected female ejido president, Nayamin Frescas Flores, something quite rare in machismo-dominated Chihuahua.<sup>701</sup>

Somewhere between Ejido Bustillos and even smaller Zamaloapan, only two miles to its northeast, a local and familial tragedy occurred when federal troops, positioned in the area to quell land disturbances, attempted to disarm a group of sixty armed Bustillos and Zamaloapan ejido members.<sup>702</sup> The soldiers and the ejiditarios were led by brothers-in-law. When the ejiditarios opened fire on the soldiers, the senior officer of the troops, Lieutenant Caballero León, shot and killed his brother-in-law, the president of the ejido and local ejido militia commander.<sup>703</sup> This killing

---

<sup>700</sup> 7 September, 2022 oral interview with Ortíz, *The Murder of Father Pedro Jesus Maldonado*; 6 September, 2022 oral interview with José Martínez, *Conflict in Bustillos on July 14, 1932*, José Martínez (Bustillos, Chihuahua, 2022).

<sup>701</sup> Martínez, *Martínez 2022*, oral interview.

<sup>702</sup> Troops Sent to Mexican Village, *Imperial Valley Press*, 14 July 1932, p. 7 <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn92070146/1932-07-14/ed-1/seq-7/>. This article adds that a larger body of Mexican troops under Colonel Leopoldo Ceballos was sent to Zamaloapan from Chihuahua City after the event to disarm all agraristas in western Chihuahua.

<sup>703</sup> Sra. Ramos Castillo, *Revista Anáhuac: Alguien que lo ayude con esta historia por favor* (Anáhuac, Chihuahua, 2022)

<<https://www.facebook.com/AnahuacCh/posts/pfbid02i5AscmeglgXbbbPxxkbXEBMysajrp8DryeBrzkgHWzjFZwzKLSg6yP23KEdhfql>>; Information received from Sra. Ramos Castillo indicates that this conflict occurred in a pueblo not more than 2 miles north of Bustillos, in Zamaloapan (Pénjamo) where a grandfather of the current Granillo family was killed during the confrontation between armed ejidatarios and the guardias blancas or white guards from Hacienda Bustillos (not federal soldiers). This location is confirmed by the Brownsville Herald article. However, it is indicated therein that the Mexican federal army was involved. See 'Agrarians, Army Clash; 10 Killed', *The Brownsville Herald*, 14 July 1932, p. 1.

enraged the locals, and a brief, bloody conflict resulted. Approximately ten of the agraristas were slain, including at least one officer.<sup>704</sup>

Another version of the battle is that two soldiers and eight agraristas were killed in the conflict that began when the agrarian leader, Dionicio Flores, the brother-in-law of the Cuauhtémoc (a large nearby pueblo populated mainly by Mennonites) mayor, lunged at Lieutenant Leon with a dagger and was shot dead “on the spot.” The death records of Dionicio Flores confirm his death’s date, location, and manner (gunshots).<sup>705</sup> Then a general close-at-hand firefight resulted in ten deaths, two soldiers, and eight agrarians.<sup>706</sup> This conflict was a classic use of power violence on the part of each side to accomplish their goals and, on the part of the army or militia, their orders.<sup>707</sup>

One cannot be sure as to the exact causes of this conflict. Two different scenarios might explain the tensions that exploded that day. First, in late 1929 and 1930, Luis L León<sup>708</sup> and Francisco Almada served several terms (each) as governor of Chihuahua. They both sought to build a power base for themselves with the “everyday” citizens of the state. They helped organize and arm the agrarians so that they could defend their claims and fulfill their desires for land by force if necessary.

---

<sup>704</sup> ‘Mexican Officer Kills Relative: Ten Slain in Clash that Follows’, *New York Times*, 15 July 1932. This New York Times article provides no source for the few specific details of the conflict it contains.

<sup>705</sup> familysearch.org, “México, Chihuahua, Registro Civil, 1861-1997,” *database with images, FamilySearch: Dionicio Flores, Death Registration 12 July 1932* (Cuauhtémoc, México (AMC)) <<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QGC5-2K44>>.

<sup>706</sup> 10 Muertos en Duro Combate, ‘Federales y agraristas entablan encarnizada refriega en Chihuahua’, *La Crónica de Chihuahua*, 15 July 1932, p. 1.

<sup>707</sup> Han Prohibido Portar Armas en Chihuahua, ‘La orden fue girada como resultado de los últimos motines agraristas’, *La Opinión - Los Angeles, California*, 18 July 1932, p. 2. This article adds to the details that in response to this event, General Guerrero, commander of the Chihuahua Military Zone of the federal army banned the carrying of all weapons by anyone in the state. A commission was also set up of military officers, representatives of the governor and the National Agrarian Commission to travel to the location to determine who was responsible for the bloodshed. I have not been able to find a report from this commission.

<sup>708</sup> Buchenau, ‘Plutarco Elías Calles and the Maximato’, pp. 229-253, p. 234. Luis L. León had been a faithful Callista serving in various federal positions under Calles. Buchenau notes that León’s closeness to Calles is noted by the fact that in November 1928 the early organizational meetings for the creation of the Partido Nacional Revolucionario (PNR) were held in the living room of León’s home. Calles also rewarded León, the twice Callista governor of Chihuahua with a large hacienda/cattle ranch, *Las Terrenates*, just southeast of the current Chihuahuense pueblo of Flores Magón. Hamilton, *The Limits of State Autonomy*, p. 163.

Subsequent state governors, famed aviator Roberto Fierro<sup>709</sup> and feared Rodrigo M. Quevedo had their political base in the middle class and were bitterly criticized by agrarians for their lack of support in that cause. Both governors sought to continue the disarming of the agraristas begun by Ortíz in 1931 and 1932. If the federal army was in the area of Bustillos to disarm the locals, it is no wonder that they came to blows.<sup>710</sup>

The second possibility for the collision of these two armed forces may have been because the federal troops were sent to the Bustillos area to protect those Mennonites who settled therein. Mennonites, who had immigrated to the area in the previous decade, were threatening to return to Canada or head farther south if they were not provided protection from violence bred from jealousy, anger, and a pervasive sense of unfairness among the locals. Without providing any specific details, Will mentions that “several Mexicans” were killed by federal troops assigned to protect the Mennonites from violence.<sup>711</sup> Fretz adds more detail, expanding the number of Mexicans killed by the troops to “a considerable number” in his accounts. He also, without details, indicates that four Mennonites were murdered in these early years.<sup>712</sup>

It is essential to observe that such hostilities between Mennonites and Mormons and the local agrarians were not religious or culturally based. The problem was that the Mennonites migrated, and the Mormons returned at the same time that local everyday people were expecting

---

<sup>709</sup> For details of Fierro (not to be confused with villista general Rodolfo Fierro) from historian/former governor of Chihuahua, see Almada, *Diccionario Historia*, pp. 208-209.

<sup>710</sup> See Wasserman, *Persistent Oligarchs*, pp. 55-57.

<sup>711</sup> For more information on the violence perpetrated against the Mennonites and the federal response in sending troops to protect them, see Will, ‘The Mennonite Colonization of Chihuahua’, p. 353.

<sup>712</sup> Fretz, *Mennonite Colonization in Mexico*, pp. 22-23. Fretz provides some detail regarding the violence faced by the Mennonites during their early years in Mexico.



that, in return for their support, the promises of the revolution made to them for land and liberty would be kept. These “foreigners” were in the way of the fulfillment of those promises.<sup>713</sup>

There are two ironies in this situation. First, the federal government provided Mexican soldiers to protect foreigners from Mexican citizens.<sup>714</sup> The second was that Mennonites, who were by beliefs and culture non-violent and pacifists, requested armed protection for their safety instead of trusting in God to do so, a principal tenet of their faith.<sup>715</sup>

The concept of ejidos existing without land is challenging to comprehend. The next event typifies that which happened in one such location in the Sierra Madre area of western Chihuahua. In this case, this thirst for land led to the death of the leaders of a band of determined agraristas. It exemplifies the challenges faced by those who had to confront soldiers, militias, white guards, and others hired by the elites to blockade the fulfillment of their dreams.

Peña Blanca is a town of 926 inhabitants, sits at 2,162 meters of altitude, and is much like every other small mountain village in the Sierra Madre.<sup>716</sup> The main highway through town is Mexican Rte. 5; a route traveled by lumber trucks traversing the dangerous curves to and from forest to mill.<sup>717</sup>

---

<sup>713</sup> Will, ‘The Mennonite Colonization of Chihuahua’, pp. 359, 362. Referring to the Mennonite/agraristas conflicts, Will observed, “Throughout the 1930s Mennonites and campesino registered complaints with successive officials, and federal troops were again called in to protect Mennonite lives and property rights.”

<sup>714</sup> John J. Johnson, *The military and society in Latin America* (Stanford: Univ. Press, 1979), pp. 153-161, 245-262. Johnson provides insight into the various roles that militaries played across Latin America, including Mexico. These roles include being used by those in power against citizens.

<sup>715</sup> Jane Hooper Peifer, *Trust God—Love each other* (2017) <<https://www.mennoniteusa.org/convention-news/trust-god-love/>>; Fretz, *Mennonite Colonization*, p. 23.

<sup>716</sup> Gómez Fariás. Chihuahua (Peña Blanca), *PueblosAmericas.com* <<https://en.mexico.pueblosamerica.com/i/pena-blanca-15/>>.

<sup>717</sup> 12 August 2021 interview with Socorro Orrantia Jiménez, Eugenio Gaona Arreola and Yulissa Camarena, *History of Ejido Peña Blanca Conflict on April 14, 1939*, Socorro Orrantia Jiménez, Eugenio Gaona Arreola and Yulissa Camarena (Municipal Office, Ejido Peña Blanca, Chihuahua, 2021). Socorro Jiménez Orrantia is the granddaughter of Manuel Jiménez who was killed in the fighting. Prof. Eugenio Gaona Arreola is the grandson of several of those wounded in the fighting and of the women who cooked for the men. Also interviewed was Yulissa Camarena, secretary of the municipal headquarters building in Peña Blanca.

A closer look reveals some unique characteristics. The Peña Blanca portion of Rte. 5 is named 14 de abril, a date not widely known in Mexican history. Crossing and on all sides of the main highway are the town's principal streets named for the required heroes, for example, Justo Sierra (politician, writer, and historian), Lázaro Cárdenas, and Adolfo López Mateos (both presidents of Mexico), and Emiliano Zapata (revolutionary hero). However, the most prominent are named for two virtually unknown Mexicans, Crescencio Macias and Manuel Jiménez.

The third is named for an agrarian advocate, Socorro Rivera, who actively led the land redistribution movement in north central Mexico.<sup>718</sup> He came to central-west Chihuahua from having been active in strategies for land expropriation with the Mexican Communist Party (CTM) in the cotton-rich Laguna area of Durango, Coahuila, Zacatecas, and extreme southeast Chihuahua. The concept and methods used for land distribution in the Laguna area were quite different from that of other parts of Mexico. The Laguna strategies engaged the *Confederación de Trabajadores de México* (CTM) and the *Partido Comunista Mexicano* (PCM) in a quasi-capitalist/labor/wage system.<sup>719</sup> This unique attempt at agrarian reform, as recorded by Arboleyda, deserves additional scholarly attention.<sup>720</sup> The three men were the object of my research trip to Peña Blanca.

On April 14, 1939, this small band of men traveled northwest seeking land to appropriate for the Peña Blanca ejido. According to information obtained in my oral interview, the band of agraristas engaged in this expedition included: Seventy-one-year-old Socorro Rivera, Crescencio Macías, Manuel Jiménez, José María Vega, Reyes Molina, Ramon Arreola, Rafael Arreola, and José

---

<sup>718</sup> It is interesting to note how often in Mexico the past and present are merged together in a celebration of local heroes. Like in virtually every pueblo or city, here in Peña Blanca streets are named for the requisite national heroes. However, the most prominent streets are named for the local heroes. In this way, both local and national heroes live on in the present.

<sup>719</sup> Carr, 'The Mexican Communist Party', pp. 371-404.

<sup>720</sup> Ruth Arboleyda, 'El colectivismo ejidal y la cuestión agraria en Mexico: El caso de la Laguna, Un estudio de antropología política' (Licenciatura, Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1978).

Arreola (Rivera's personal secretary).<sup>721</sup> Two sisters cooked for the men. They were Concepcion y Josefa Arreola.<sup>722</sup>

Under the leadership of Rivera, the band of ejidatarios left the tiny community of Peña Blanca at the edge of the vast San José de Babícora ranch, home of the Babícora Land and Cattle Company, owned by the wealthy Hearst family of the United States. This property resided just north of the Guerrero District, one of the Mexican Revolution's cradles in Chihuahua and the entire country. Palomares Peña reminds us that this area "was an important focus of the armed rebellion of 1910, still not forgotten were the old demands of social well-being (*patrimony*) of education, land, and a place to live."<sup>723</sup> When purchased piece-by-piece in the 1880s and 1890s, the ranch property totaled 361,390 hectares of the finest Guerrero District grazing lands.<sup>724</sup>

During the revolution, the property was subject to depredations by the villistas, but through the 1930s, it was still basically intact. The ranch was subdivided on paper into ejidos, lots, and one colonia, but the impact was negligible. Hearst successfully carried the favor of President Álvaro Obregón and the US government. He then used his influential Hearst newspapers in the 1920s to present positive reports about Obregón's presidency.<sup>725</sup>

Like many others, Ejido Peña Blanca was a landless ejido. That concept may seem strange, but it was not unusual for ejidos in the state not to have actual land assigned to them to distribute to their ejido members. Promises had been made, but very few were implemented by 1939.

---

<sup>721</sup> The information about Socorro Rivera's age is taken from La Crónica de Chihuahua, "Tiren las armas, que al cabo al que quieren es a mí" (2011) <[https://www-cronicadechihuahua-com.translate.google/Tiren-las-armas-que-al-cabo-al-que.html?\\_x\\_tr\\_sl=auto&\\_x\\_tr\\_tl=en&\\_x\\_tr\\_hl=en](https://www-cronicadechihuahua-com.translate.google/Tiren-las-armas-que-al-cabo-al-que.html?_x_tr_sl=auto&_x_tr_tl=en&_x_tr_hl=en)> [accessed 19 March 2023].

<sup>722</sup> Socorro Orrantía Jiménez, Gaona Arreola and Camarena, *Orrantía Jiménez et al.* 2021.

<sup>723</sup> Palomares Peña, *Propietarios norteamericanos y reforma agraria*, p. 111.

<sup>724</sup> Palomares Peña, *Propietarios norteamericanos y reforma agraria*, p. 113.

<sup>725</sup> Palomares Peña, *Propietarios norteamericanos y reforma agraria*, p. 117.

Workers on the gigantic Babícora latifundia lived in homes lining Peña Blanca's streets closest to its easternmost fields. They intended to confiscate a small portion of the property in Las Varas (or Las Varitas), northwest of Gomez Farias, for their new ejido, which would benefit the local campesino.

Since 1938, those ejidatarios involved in the confrontation (approximately fifteen to twenty men) held clandestine meetings in Peña Blanca to plan their strategy to provide land for the landless ejido. Several nights before the actual battle, they camped on the proposed confiscation lands while ladies from Peña Blanca brought them supplies and cooked meals. On April 14, 1939, they encountered a group of white guards (La Cordada or Guardias Blancas) on the Hearst mayordomo (supervisor) payroll, as well as a group of Mexican rurales (militia) under the command of Lieutenant Benjamin Tapia Niebla.<sup>726</sup> A brief and one-sided armed confrontation took place.<sup>727</sup>

Rivera and his small group of poorly armed activists were confronted by the hacienda guards under the command of Isaías Álvarez and soon after that by the militia.<sup>728</sup> The Hearsts hired this militia to guard their properties and prevent penetration of the same by the activists. Rivera, Macias, and Jiménez were all killed in the armed conflict. Many who rode with them were injured in the fighting with the better-equipped and trained militia. *The Post Press* of El Centro, CA. reports that Francisco Gomez, chief of the rural state police forces, was also killed in the conflict.<sup>729</sup> The three agraristas who were killed in the battle were taken to and buried in Madera, Chihuahua.

---

<sup>726</sup> J. J. Barrón, "Socorro Rivera", *Chihuahua*, 1, año 1 (febrero de 1957) (pp. 16-18) in Palomares Peña, *Propietarios norteamericanos y reforma agraria*, pp. 128-131.

<sup>727</sup> Socorro Orrantia Jiménez, Gaona Arreola and Camarena, *Orrantia Jiménez et al. 2021*, oral interview.

<sup>728</sup> La Crónica de Chihuahua, "Tiren las armas".

<sup>729</sup> 'Mexicans Patrol Big Hearst Ranch', *The Post-Press*, 16 April 1939, p. 1  
[https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/data/batches/curiv\\_roseheath\\_ver01/data/sn92070146/00414188862/1939041601/0823.pdf](https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/data/batches/curiv_roseheath_ver01/data/sn92070146/00414188862/1939041601/0823.pdf).

This conflict is one example of brief but violent armed disputes that characterized the agrarian struggle portion of the Segunda Cristiada in Chihuahua and elsewhere. From the types of violence identified in the introduction, it was a Power Violence type of conflict on both sides because it carried with it the implied loss of patrimony. The ejidatarios were willing to exert the force of arms to obtain their customary land rights. The White Guards and militia did the same to maintain the status quo on behalf of the hacendado.

Along with those wounded, the three agraristas who died were prototypical martyrs of the Chihuahuense agrarian conflicts of the 1930s (**See Figure 19**, p. 267). Their deaths represented the types and styles of micro-scale conflicts typified in what we know as the Second Cristiada. Jiménez, born in nearby Namiquipa, was killed at twenty-five years of age. Macias was even younger and from a prominent family in the pueblo of Ignacio Zaragoza. Born forty-five years earlier in San Luis Potosí, Socorro Rivera was an agrarian activist who, from 1936, worked his way north, protesting in the rich Laguna area of Durango, Coahuila, and eventually in Chihuahua. According to sources, he served in the Mexican army and was motivated to pursue land redistribution by his membership in the communist party and close association with President Lázaro Cárdenas.<sup>730</sup>

One of the unique characteristics of this particular situation is the existence of a little-known extant letter written by Rivera, where he predicted his demise just two days before his death. In the poignant and prescient letter, he mentions his patrimony, which makes it essential for our discussion. In part, it reads:

April 12, 1939

Comrades:

---

<sup>730</sup> Socorro Orrantia Jiménez, Gaona Arreola and Camarena, *Orrantia Jiménez et al. 2021*, Oral Interview; Palomares Peña, *Proprietarios norteamericanos y reforma agraria*, pp. 128-130.

I am not and have never been superstitious, however, I have the presentiment that in this new onslaught of the traitors to my beloved Mexico, I will fertilize with my blood this blessed land that I have defended so much. The disastrous hacienda of Babícora intends to render our fields useless by watering them with Johnson grass seed. However, I will save this girol of Mexican land with my life, and may this simple example serve as an encouragement to future generations.

Comrades, I beg you to let the agrarian authorities know that all my patrimony, which consists of a plot of land that by presidential decision belongs to me, I leave it as a last help that this humble farmer can do for the outcasts. . . . My dear comrades, I recommend as part of the most important thing to the widows and orphans that they do not lack food, work their plots of land, I also highly recommend, fight as far as possible to build a good school where both adults and children are educated and do not continue to be like us, victims of the bad Mexicans. . . .

Never serve foreign interests, never betray your country or your classmates, defend our ejido inch by inch and may the vigorous figure of our good friend and great comrade General Cárdenas serve as encouragement in this supreme moment of the struggle, may death not intimidate you, because only cowards and traitors fear death. The good Mexicans die with their faces to the sun and shouting at the top of their lungs, Long live Mexico!

If I die, I will die with the very great satisfaction of not having betrayed my country or my kind and with the very great satisfaction that Hearst's Babícora had money to buy generals and governors, but all her gold was not enough to buy this humble peasant.

José Socorro Rivera<sup>731</sup>

This letter is essential not only for its predictive validity but poignantly revealing the cry of the campesino for their natural rights: land, education, and nationalism of the 1930s in northern Mexico. Rivera covers all the bases in what may have been an attempt to propagandize his cause, aggrandizing himself in case of martyrdom. Aboites informs us that before this altercation, in 1932,

---

<sup>731</sup> I was given a copy of this letter in the municipal president's office in Ejido Peña Blanca. I also found confirmation of the letter's provenance in a speech by Jesús Vargas Valdez at a 2019 UPNECH conference in Madera. Antes de su muerte Socorro Rivera dejó una carta, *VozenRed.com: Madera* (2023) <<https://www.vozenred.com/2015/notas.php?i=229856>>.

twelve ejidatarios were assassinated fighting for their land in the Bustillos Valley just an hour (by automobile) south of Peña Blanca.<sup>732</sup>

It would not be until years later, in the mid-1950s after the death of William Randolph Hearst, that the Babícora ranch was broken up and the land sold, with a portion going to form the nucleus for land for landless ejidos in the surrounding area.<sup>733</sup> Therefore it would seem that this 1939 struggle failed to provide immediate relief for the landless campesino of Peña Blanca. They died, and others gave their blood in a quest for land distribution that was unsuccessful in the short term. The municipal cemetery in the nearby lumbering town of Madera received the remains of those young men who died in the Peña Blanca/Babícora conflict.

Ironically, two Mexican presidents over the period of eighteen years thwarted the efforts of the local agraristas to obtain Babícora land. Lázaro Cárdenas and Adolfo Ruiz Cortines, in one way or another, minimized or changed the distribution orders to limit the amount of the ranch that was allocated for ejido property.<sup>734</sup>

Not all violent events of this time period are revealed with great clarity and detail. Two such events occurred, either the same day or within a day of each other in northwestern Chihuahua in the small pueblo of Casas Grandes. Their details may be lost to history, but it is important to mention them as examples of extreme violence that defies closer scrutiny.

The next two events in the agrarian conflict category occurred almost simultaneously in Casas Grandes, Chihuahua in March 1940. It cannot be said with certainty that they are separate events. The *New York Times*, in a March 25 edition, reported a “clash” on March 24 near Casas

---

<sup>732</sup> Aboites Aguilar, *Breve historia de Chihuahua*, p. 152.

<sup>733</sup> Nugent, *Spent Cartridges of Revolution*, pp. 89-90.

<sup>734</sup> For more information about both Cárdenas and Cortines, see Elizabeth Henson, *Agrarian Revolt in the Sierra of Chihuahua, 1959-1965* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2019), pp. 62, 81; Hamilton, *The Limits of State Autonomy*, pp. 264-265.

Grandes Chihuahua that took the lives of three members of the Agrarian Party (a political party), along with the wounding of the chief of police.<sup>735</sup> The report originated with an account from the newspaper *Universal* in Mexico City reporting the clash between state agrarian political party members and the police. Neither the names of those who died, or the exact nature of the conflict are included in the article.

The second conflict was reported on either the same or a proximate day in Casas Grandes, the small pueblo in northwestern Chihuahua. This event was reported in the March 24 edition of *La Opinión*, a Los Angeles Spanish language newspaper. It reported “one of the most brutal murders committed in years,” that of a family of five in Casas Grandes. All of the members of the family were shot and beaten to death. The article concluded by saying that state authorities were investigating the death.<sup>736</sup>

It is doubtful that the specific cause of these deaths will ever be known. The first clearly had some agrarian implications since the conflict was between local police and members of the agrarian party. The second could have been a local conflict between families. Given the reported violent nature of the deaths, the latter perspective is doubtful. Perhaps, further investigation will yield a better understanding of these two contemporaneous events.

From the late 1920s through the 1950s, local officials demanded the return of land previously purchased from the Mormons to support the increasing demand for land for ejidos. Repeatedly local, state and federal officials rendered conflicting decisions for or against the locals and the Mormons. The federal, regional, and state governments made genuine attempts to provide

---

<sup>735</sup> ‘Three Mexicans Die in Police Clash’, *The New York Times*, 25 March 1940. As of this time I have been able to locate any more information about this conflict. The Registro Civil in the Casas Grandes municipality has no mention of deaths related to either event mentioned in this section.

<sup>736</sup> Familia Muerta en Forma Brutal, *La Opinión - Los Angeles, California*, 24 March 1940, p. 6 <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn81004351/1940-03-24/ed-1/seq-4/>.



land to mestizo petitioners, but it seemed inevitable that when Anglo-Mormon properties were threatened, they were also “protected.”

There were also times when the Mormons were the petitioners. On February 27, 1931, seventeen Mormon men sent a letter to the Regional Ejido Oversight Office in Ciudad Chihuahua (the state capital).<sup>737</sup> In that letter, the men confirmed that they were Mexican citizens by birth from Colonia Dublán, over sixteen years of age, and agriculturalists who lacked land to care for their needs (See **Figure 13**, p. 261).

They indicated that they knew that the Casas Grandes ejido had recently received a sizeable new allotment of land that was good for pasture and could be converted to plots of land to meet their needs. Adding that they were willing to undertake all the work necessary to succeed in their endeavors, they implored the regional Ejido authority to grant each petitioner plots of land. They stated that the timing was good for planting and requested approval of their request in a prompt manner. They concluded with a statement that they had been honest in all their representations associated with their request. All seventeen petitioners signed the letter.

According to all the records I have searched and discussions with family members of those who signed the letter, they never received a reply. The local Mormons were Mexican, but perhaps they were not Mexican enough. The lack of response to this letter of protest and petition was a form of prejudicial violence. They wanted what they believed to be their patrimony every bit as much as did their mestizo counterparts.<sup>738</sup> In this case, they were no more successful than their

---

<sup>737</sup> Mormon Agrarians, *A Letter Appealing for Agrarian Allotment of Land*, 27 February 1931, ACECG – Archivo Comisario Ejidal de Casas Grandes. A copy of the original letter was provided to me by a leader of the Comisario Ejidal de Casas Grandes who wishes to remain anonymous. The letter is included in its entirety in **Figure 13** (p. 261). The signatures demonstrate that these young men represented the best known of the LDS Mormon families in Chihuahua.

<sup>738</sup> Taylor, *The Life and Times of Harvey Hyrum Taylor*, pp. 13-19, 331-352.

mestizo neighbors. Over many years prejudicial violence between Anglo-Mormons and mestizos was evident in their mutual dealings.<sup>739</sup>

These conflicts escalated in the 1930s with several killings of local ejidatarios in the Casas Grandes ejido area. At the time, members of the local ejido implicated Mormons in at least one of the murders. Specifically mentioned was a minister of the LDS Mormon church named Brown and his Mexican assistant, Vega.<sup>740</sup>

At this particular time, Orson Pratt Brown, a well-known figure in the Mexican Revolution,<sup>741</sup> was the president of the Mexican Branch of the Dublán Ward.<sup>742</sup> On a popular online website for the Mexican Mormon colonies, he is described as “one of the most colorful and controversial characters of all the settlers in Mexico.”<sup>743</sup>

In 1912, colony leadership selected Brown to smuggle 250 Spanish Mauser Rifles into the colonies to protect the colonists. With the help of powerful outsiders, after many challenges, Brown was able to complete his mission successfully. Although the rifles were initially confiscated and Brown was threatened with prison, thanks to help from a US Senator, a senior US state department

---

<sup>739</sup> For specific evidence of such attitudinal and verbal violence within the Mormon and mestizo communities towards each other see Stover, *The Search for the Soul of Mexico: The Anglo Quest*, pp. 234-235, 239-242, 244-250.

<sup>740</sup> Janzen, *Mennonite and Mormons*, pp. 45-47.

<sup>741</sup> *Subsección protocolos*, Archivo Histórico de Nuevo Casas Grandes, Serie Proscripción de Terrenos 1935-1940 This archival material is composed mainly of documents related to property disputes and settlements. That Orson Pratt Brown was named a *testigo* – a witness (signed in his own hand) for the good character of several of the Mormons who were involved in disputes, for example Claude Bowman, indicates that he was held in high regard in the community.

<sup>742</sup> O. J. B. Klein, *Orson Pratt Brown (1863-1946): His Five Wonderful Wives and their 34 Children an Honest and Healing Account of their Life Histories*, 2 vols (Mesa Ariz. USA: O.J.B. Klein, 2007), pp. 281-282. Orson Pratt Brown was a unique and somewhat controversial figure for most of his life. He was involved on many levels in the revolution. He was briefly detained in El Paso for smuggling two hundred Spanish Mauser rifles into Mexico for the protection of the Mormons. He was a bishop in Sonora, then was excommunicated for marrying a Mexican wife in violation of the church’s anti-Polygamy manifestos. Later in his life his status in the church was restored and he assumed leadership positions in the local Spanish speaking branches, He also worked in the 1930s to help US Mormons who had left in the 1912 exodus to either get their property restored or to sell it. This both alienated him from local agraristas and resulted in dangerous encounters in the 1930s.

<sup>743</sup> *Las Colonias - The Mormon Colonies in Mexico: Orson Pratt Brown 1863-1946*  
<<http://www.lascolonias.org/2018/06/18/orson-pratt-brown/>>.

official, President Taft, and Joseph F. Smith, the president of the LDS church, the rifles were restored, a permit was granted, and the rifles were successfully smuggled into the colonies.<sup>744</sup>

Governor Rodrigo M. Quevedo wrote a letter to “Whom it may concern” on July 16, 1934.

The message was straightforward. Quevedo wasted few words on his personal stationery:

I hereby accredit the personality of Mr. O. P. Brown, whom I hereby recommend to the civilian and military authorities of the State, requesting them to provide him with all kinds of guarantees for his person and interests, as he is a hard-working element with many years of residence in this Federal Entity. Sincerely Rodrigo M Quevedo<sup>745</sup>

Rodrigo Quevedo, Governor of Chihuahua from 1932 to 1936, was born in Casas Grandes, a former student at the Juárez Stake Academy (owned by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints), stridently anticlerical, and during this term, the most powerful man in Chihuahua.<sup>746</sup> He was a protector of the Mormons. Mormon representative Harvey Taylor tells us how, as a boy, Quevedo had lived in his home and how they participated in all the usual things brothers do to and with each other, a normal upbringing for both at the time.<sup>747</sup>

This obscure letter from Governor Quevedo would not have merited my attention had a copy of Orson Pratt Brown’s autobiography not also suggested details of the ejido-involved murder in Colonia Dublán in early 1935. Throughout the turbulent history of the ejido-Mormon conflicts in Chihuahua, there have been threats, attacks, and several murders perpetrated by and impacting

---

<sup>744</sup> B. C. Hardy and Melody Seymour, ‘Importation of Arms and the 1912 Mormon “Exodus” from Mexico’, *New Mexico Historical Review*, 72.4 (1997), 297–318.

<sup>745</sup> Klein, *Orson Pratt Brown*. This text is reproduced from a copy in the author’s possession of the original letter that is included in the autobiography of Orson Pratt Brown. It is reproduced with permission of the family. I have a copy of a read-only pdf of the diary and autobiography which has been privately published in a small number of copies for family members. The autobiography and diary were edited by O. James Brown Klein, published in 2007 and previously cited.

<sup>746</sup> After several years of research, it is evident there are no official records available at either the academy or in the LDS church history department regarding early (pre-1935) student enrollment. Governor Quevedo is one of four important revolutionary-era individuals who are said to have attended the academy. There seems to be adequate information from those sources to say with a high degree of certainty that Governor Quevedo did indeed attend the LDS academy in Colonia Juárez as a student.

<sup>747</sup> Taylor, *The Life and Times of Harvey Hyrum Taylor*, p. 14.

both sides. This would go on for decades more.<sup>748</sup> The murder mentioned above in 1935 was brought to the attention of the President of Mexico, Lázaro Cárdenas, by a local official in Colonia Dublán.<sup>749</sup>

In early 1935, unknown assailants killed a Casas Grandes ejido member, Victorio Ponce. No one was ever charged<sup>750</sup> as local police quickly dropped the matter.<sup>751</sup> A local labor official, Manuel Torres, penned a letter to President Cárdenas complaining that locals were killed. Some claimed that Orson Pratt Brown and his Mexican assistant were responsible for the murder(s). A federal official responded on behalf of President Cárdenas to Governor Quevedo, requesting that he look into the matter, but apparently, nothing was ever done.<sup>752</sup> Judging by the letter, Quevedo and Brown were close friends, as mentioned earlier. It is important to note that this inactivity on the part of state and local officials to intervene on behalf of the local agrarians, even in the face of federal intervention, was not atypical.

According to his autobiography, Brown earned income from the late-20s to the mid-thirties by restoring properties or obtaining payment for land Mormons left intact in their 1912 flight from

---

<sup>748</sup> Daniel Nugent and Ana Maria Alonso, "Multiple Selective Traditions in Agrarian Reform and Agrarian Struggle: Popular Culture and State Formation in the Ejido of Namiquipa, Chihuahua," 209-246, p. 244 in Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniel Nugent, eds., *Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994). In their chapter, Nugent and Alonso point out that irregularities in ejido policy and enforcement continued in Chihuahua as "The best irrigated land in the ejido of Galeana, Chihuahua was "sold" by the ejidal commissioner to Mormons in the 1960s and 1970s. The ejido in Casas Grandes was blocked by influential property owners in the region, including many Mormons. . . ." I would note that the Mormons in Galeana in the 1960s and 1970s to whom land was sold were most likely members of the LeBaron Mormon fundamentalist group, a spinoff of the LDS (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints). The LeBarons dominate the land and politics in and around the towns of Galeana and LeBaron until this day. *Everyday Forms of State Formation* is a helpful collection of case studies across Mexico showing the struggles between local, state, and federal governments during the late-revolutionary and post-revolutionary years.

<sup>749</sup> Janzen, *Mennonite and Mormons*, pp. 45-47.

<sup>750</sup> March 1935, Registro civil en Nuevo Casas Grandes. Assistance from the staff of the archives of the Registro civil de Nuevo Casas Grandes provided no further information on Victorio Ponce, his date of birth or death.

<sup>751</sup> *Fondo Cardenismo: Sección Motrairas 1935-1940*, Archivo Histórico de Nuevo Casas Grandes, Serie 9. A search of the Archivos AHNCG archives revealed no information about Victorio Ponce, his death or the means by which he died.

<sup>752</sup> Janzen, *Mennonite and Mormons*, pp. 45-47. A brief account of the letters and issues related to these problems are found in Janzen.

Mexico. Therein he stated how dangerous his work was and how he always kept himself well-armed.<sup>753</sup> We will never know if he participated in the killings of ejido members who objected to his chosen profession or whether these were acts of self-defense.

The 1930s was a tumultuous decade between agraristas and Anglo Mormons over land and water ownership. In an interview, Harvey Taylor, a leading advocate for the Mormons on private/ejido and church-owned properties, was very candid in recounting events from the 1920s through the 1960s. Personal relationships and influence repeatedly influenced decisions in favor of the Mormons and the church. On a local level, this only served to aggravate the situations with agrarians who lost the decisions due to a lack of the same level of governmental cooperation. According to Taylor, the government never took any land that the church owned. Still, it did take some land from individual Mormons, especially those who had received twenty-five years of land in affectabilities.<sup>754</sup>

### **Water Conflicts in Chihuahua**

The Casas Grandes River, formed after the intersection of the Piedras Verdes and Palanganas (San Miguel) Rivers, is the principal north-south river in northwest Chihuahua. Paquimé, the World

---

<sup>753</sup> Klein, *Orson Pratt Brown*, p. 276.

<sup>754</sup> Taylor, *The Life and Times of Harvey Hyrum Taylor*, pp. 9-23. In an interesting note in Contreras Orozco, *El Mártir de Chihuahua*, p. 429 the author decries the fact that Taylor and Stanley Martineau, both Mormon bishops were allowed in 1934 to be licensed as ministers even though the law forbade naturalized Mexicans to serve in that capacity. He suggests that this fact demonstrates an open preference for Protestant sects and foreigners. In fact, both Taylor and Martineau were native-born Mexicans. In his diary (listed above), p. 98, Taylor makes it clear that all Mormon bishops in the mid-1930s were native-born Mexicans, and thus eligible by nationality under the law to serve as ministers.

Heritage Site's largest archaeological ruin in northern Mexico, was built over a thousand years ago on its western banks.<sup>755</sup>

Anglo-Mormons and other early mestizo settlers began occupying land and creating irrigation canals on its banks as early as the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>756</sup> By the mid-1930s there was a collision of need and availability of this critical resource. Protests, destruction, and personal violence were the result.

A headline on page 5 of May 3, 1932, *La Opinión*, a daily newspaper in far-off Los Angeles, California, told the story of water conflicts in the Casas Grandes, Chihuahua area, the second largest ejido in Mexico "in terms of size and importance." State engineers failed to solve the problem of inadequate water from the three local rivers to serve the needs of seven agricultural colonies and Colonia Juárez and Dublán, two Mormon colonies in the same area. Their report to their federal superiors indicated that they could do nothing to resolve the conflicts that were becoming more difficult to solve "every day." As reported in the newspaper, their summary of the situation was that it was a "deep problem, one requiring essential and urgent regulations."<sup>757</sup>

Newly formed ejidos created in the 1920s and 1930s on properties through which privately-owned canals traversed were a source of significant conflict. The new ejidatarios assumed they would have rights to that water flowing through their property. At the same time, the owners of the *acequias* (irrigation ditches) needed the water for their own land and commercial enterprises located beyond the ejidos.

---

<sup>755</sup> Grace Johnson (ed.), *From Paquimé to Mata Ortiz* (San Diego, CA: San Diego Museum of Man, 2001), pp. 1-10.

<sup>756</sup> Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico*, p. 56

<sup>757</sup> Distribución de las Aguas en Tres Ríos, 'Un problema que resolverá en Chihuahua el gobierno federal', *La Opinión - Los Angeles, California*, 3 May 1932, p. 5.

A secondary, equally genuine problem for the pioneer settlers occurred when the newly created ejidos built new canals that siphoned off waters from preexisting ditches.<sup>758</sup> Nuevo Casas Grandes, the area's principal urban center, became a municipality in 1923. Located strategically on the railroad line and between the mountains and the Ciudad Juárez/El Paso borderland metropolis, it experienced significant population growth, thus increasing the water demand. All the internal and external forces were in place to create a volatile competition for this liquid gold in the middle of the Chihuahua desert.

Under the authority of the 1905 land bill, the Mormons bought more land, building whole new communities. They created many miles of irrigation ditches both east and west of the river for a sixty-mile stretch. They worked hard to fill two great land depressions, creating two large lakes southeast of Nuevo Casas Grandes.<sup>759</sup> They then owned the ditches through which that lake water traveled to water their orchards. While planting hundreds of thousands of hectares of new orchards, their economic development both helped and hurt the local new ejidatarios.

These long-time residents considered the Mormons foreigners and interlopers, even though they had lived there for fifty years.<sup>760</sup> The local mestizo population believed they had greater rights to the water than these clannish yet remarkably powerful Anglo non-Catholics. The locals then began to systemically assert those rights by damaging or closing off the Mormon-owned reservoirs, canals, and pumps and violating the accepted means of water distribution. This damage was a form of violence against the sophisticated Mormon infrastructure. It could be done out of sight and at a time of the perpetrator's choice. In 1933, the Mormon landowners and settlers complained about

---

<sup>758</sup> Sandre Osorio, 'Disputas por el Agua del Rio Casas Grandes', pp. 62-63.

<sup>759</sup> William G. Hartley and Lorna Call Alder, *Anson Bowen Call: Bishop of Colonia Dublán* (Provo, Utah: Lorna Call Alder, 2007), pp. 207-208; Harold W. Taylor, *Memories of Militants & Mormon Colonists in Mexico* (Yorba Linda, CA: Shumway Family History Services, 1992). This source includes many accurate accounts of events that are not presented elsewhere.

<sup>760</sup> Sandre Osorio, 'Disputas por el Agua del Rio Casas Grandes', p. 63.

the disruptions: “At the same time they (the Mormons) argued that the attitude of the ejidatarios was clearly confrontational under the patriotic discourse that water belonged to Mexicans and not to foreigners who . . . enjoyed all the facilities to adjudicate land and water to the detriment of the rights of the peasants, given which they felt they had the right to violate the prevailing distribution of water in the area.”<sup>761</sup>

The conflicts (violence) continued, and in the same year (1933), Toribio Ontiveros, the watermaster of the huge Casas Grandes ejido, began enforcing a whole new set of rules for the flow of water that favored the ejidatarios and mestizo private landholders. Mormons responded by hoarding water in huge retention ponds. Both sides armed themselves, and physical property damage to wells, floodgates, and other machinery escalated.<sup>762</sup>

An organization, the *Association of Water Users of the Casas Grandes River*, was created in 1933 in an attempt to bring together the Mormons, ejidatarios, and small property owners to resolve their disputes.<sup>763</sup> By 1935 the ejidatarios of Juan Mata Ortiz, Casas Grandes, Hidalgo, and Guadalupe Victoria had unanimously decided to withdraw from the association due to control of the agenda by the board of directors by “Mormon settlers and their interests.”<sup>764</sup> By the late 1930s, the focus was on protests over the hoarding of water by certain groups. This “persistent plundering of the resource by the Mormon colonies” led to an impasse between all the parties. As of May 1941, the conflicts continued without resolution.<sup>765</sup>

It appears from these years of turmoil over water distribution and usage that all sides in the conflicts believed they had a customary and patrimonial right to the waters of the Casas Grandes

---

<sup>761</sup> Sandre Osorio, ‘Disputas por el Agua del Rio Casas Grandes’, p. 63.

<sup>762</sup> Sandre Osorio, ‘Disputas por el Agua del Rio Casas Grandes’, p. 64.

<sup>763</sup> Sandre Osorio, ‘Disputas por el Agua del Rio Casas Grandes’, p. 63.

<sup>764</sup> Sandre Osorio, ‘Disputas por el Agua del Rio Casas Grandes’, p. 67.

<sup>765</sup> Sandre Osorio, ‘Disputas por el Agua del Rio Casas Grandes’, p. 69.



River. The economic success, perceptions of being outsiders, and cultural isolation of the Mormons were all factors working to strengthen the liminal position of the Mormon and Mennonite landowners.

In concluding our exploration of these microevents related to land and water hunger, we must understand that often inter-governmental struggles were a key ingredient related to the failure to resolve land hunger. In Chihuahua there were significant differences between agency leaders and the courts regarding the preference for private property or ejido expansion. Chihuahua was slow to implement ejido policy. When it did so, it was inconsistent. The old and new elites who had access to the courts, the law, and the resources to use them, typically either won or delayed their cases for the redistribution of their land for decades.

These conflicts involved symbolic, power, political, and protest violence. Personal and property damage violence were all too often the results of the failure of the system to solve the challenges. Dürr, in her 2005 essay on customary rights and constitutional law in Mexico, summarizes the problem by saying that before 1940, "Land tenure titles seldom received proper legitimated approval, leaving behind vaguely delineated borders and unclear access to other vital resources, like water. Land and water are therefore contested amongst adjacent villages and even family members today."<sup>766</sup>

This recounting and study of a cross-section sample of the various localized conflicts that Chihuahuenses faced in the 1930s reveals failure at all levels. Without including the loss of life in the large battles of the Escobar Rebellion in 1929, there were many lives lost one to five at a time across the state over the 1930s.

---

<sup>766</sup> Dürr, 'Translating Democracy', p. 93.

It must be acknowledged that I have been only able to find information on a sample of the conflicts that actually took place across the state in the 1930s. The aggregate of the physical and psychological damage that resulted from these events will most likely never be known. There are few death records for those who were killed. Details of the deaths and judicial outcomes of the investigations are most often unknown.

There are no estimates of those wounded, who fled, or who lost hope after suffering in silence. There can be no doubt however, that in the State of Chihuahua the agrarian/resource conflicts caused the most physical damage, loss of life, and immense silence among the sometimes solitary combatants. It will never be known how many more like Pedro Marmolejo lay in silent and long lost graves, victims of competing patrimonies, power, and the quest for lost cultural and physical heritage.

## Conclusion

As I begin to think about how to finish this thesis, I must reflect on how it began. Over the first year or so it became evident that I needed to narrow the scope, time frame, and geography of the effort. Certain revealed facts became self-evident. I was pursuing a neglected topic that was bathed in silence, violence, emptiness, and othering. The recurrent theme of lost and competing patrimony kept rearing its head. My initial wanderings converted into a purposeful journey from one end of Chihuahua to the other, seeking that which largely seemed to desire not to be found.

The purpose of the Conclusion is, in part, to coalesce the findings from the sample of microevents included in this thesis to propose answers to the four questions in the Methodology section of the Introduction. The conclusions reached will primarily be based on my analysis and interpretation of the primary and secondary sources that have been included in the thesis.

I intentionally used the word “primarily” in the previous sentence. As I come to the point of making conclusions, I must pause and reflect on who I am; how I interact with those conclusions on an “everyday” basis, and most importantly, what I have learned in this thesis project over the past three years. Leaving out a recognition of any one of these considerations reduces their value and validity for myself. They may also do so for those reading this thesis. For the historian that I am striving to become at seventy-five years of age, seeking objectivity requires self-awareness of how well I am able to reflect on these considerations and how they, along with analysis and study inform my conclusions.<sup>767</sup>

---

<sup>767</sup> Theodore Clarke Smith, “The Writing of American History in America, from 1884-1934,” *The American Historical Review*, vol. 30, no. 3 (April, 1935), 439-439, (p. 440). In this article, written interestingly during the midpoint of the decade (1930s) about which I write, Smith made note of one class of historians who “read all the

Also, it is very important that I reflect on what findings I believe there are in this thesis for the greater “academy”—the world of northern Mexican late and post revolutionary historiography, especially that of the northern border state of Chihuahua.

Before answering the four questions in the Introduction, I want to comment on some significant learnings I have realized as I researched this thesis. I find myself thinking about them daily.

The first, as discussed in chapter one, is the power and potential for conflict found in parallel or competitive patrimonies. Through research, I have observed competitive worldviews rear their heads in a number of parallels. The first is that of national versus local patrimony. The state and federal governments in the 1930s were zealous in endeavoring to create a “new Mexico” by constructing individual “new Mexicans” under the government's guidance, direction, power, and legal requirements. In some ways, as previously noted, the goal was to meet everyone's needs by giving something to everyone, thus creating universal dependence on government which would in turn increase its influence, authority, and power. This goal, of course, was an effort that did not ever have a hope of short or long-term success in unifying the disparate competing local and community forces spread across the vast cultural and physical landscapes of either Mexico or Chihuahua.

Locals competing in their own way for their own patrimony against the sometimes weak and sometimes powerful state had an equally poor chance of success. They lacked the resources, both tangible and incorporeal (leadership and unity in purpose, for example) to win out against the government, whether local, state, or federal. Competitive seekers were at one time or another either stalemated or checkmated by their opponents. The powerful oligarchs and hacendados of

---

available material bearing on the past, used one's common sense, and came to a conclusion.” In that spirit, I am now at the “conclusion” point of this thesis. I am endeavoring to add my common sense to a separate and equal objectivity in summarizing all the material I have found during the years of collecting it for this thesis.

the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries in Chihuahua competed into the 1950s and often did not lose, but neither did they win. Even with bribes, cajoling, and threats, with few exceptions, both old and new hacendados failed to retain the mammoth holdings, authority or power of the revolutionary era.

Whenever parallel patrimonies engage each other, there is a great tendency for each to create an “other” on which to pin the blame for ensuing failures and conflicts. The “other” might be those of a different party, labor affiliation, faith, national heritage, village, or family.

While this thesis did not begin as a discussion of conflicts between “others” in Chihuahua, it soon became evident that just about anyone who wasn’t of the pueblo or from the pueblo was an “other,” someone to be liminalized, marginalized, or lessened. It did not matter whether the subject was a Rarámuri insisting on their more than thousand year continuous heritage in the state, or a “native” of Mata Ortiz, Chihuahua, a place where no one lived prior to 1910. Others were those who were competitors for rights, resources, or even religion. Throughout the decade of the 1930s there were few winners, some losers, and many who simply returned into the shadows of either a forgotten or imagined former time and memory.

The parallel challenge to this was the perhaps futile desire on the part of the campesino to fulfill their own patrimony in a way that both brought change and remained constant at the same time. Whether it entailed resistance to the hierarchical far-off church, governments, or interlopers, the Chihuahuense campesino was zealous to plot and run the course laid out by their community and family. Their mantra may be fairly characterized by their thinking, “Change all you want in Mexico City or Chihuahua City but leave us alone here in Camargo, Meoqui, Carichí, Anchondo, or any of a thousand other tiny Chihuahuense communities.”

Another form of parallel and competing patrimony in Chihuahua was that between the local agrarian and the liminal other, especially those others who had ownership in a form of what they considered to be sacred patrimony. In this situation, each identified the other as the outsider. Land was a customary right to one and a religious heritage to the other. It was the same for access to water. Thus, it is virtually impossible to clearly delineate between violence, conflict, or competition when related to ideology, religion, or resource hunger, whether land, water, or that which was incorporeal, such as the story or myth on which their community was founded. Conflict, often violent, was inevitable when the various forms of patrimony hunger collided.

Something similar occurred when both Indigenous and mestizo Mormon converts considered themselves uniquely and exceptionally qualified for leadership in their church because of their understanding of their special Mexican Lamanite spiritual heritage. At the same time, the dominant Anglo Mormon leadership culture viewed their members as deficient in spiritual knowledge and maturity, requiring the leadership of those more knowledgeable and mature in the Mormon faith, in this case the original nineteenth century Anglo pioneer migrants. Such were the conflicting patrimonies exemplified in conflicts during the Third Convention episode.

It is clear that Lázaro Cárdenas, after winning the presidency, was determined to make significant changes to what had been the callista period or Maximato in Mexico. One of the changes he sought to make was to what had been both an obregonista and callista strategy to bring foreign Anglos into Mexico to rebuild the country and “strengthen” the mestizo race.

Anglos migrated into Chihuahua, but clearly did not integrate into the local communities wherein they settled. In fact, in their ethnocentric and endogamous campos and colonies, they had in several ways created a new form of parallel or competing patrimonies with locals. Cárdenas’ thoughts about the issue varied from those of his predecessors. In 1937, he opined:

Mexico should not pretend to colonize any region of the country with foreign elements, as long as the level, not only of the Indians, but of the mestizos themselves, is not only equal, but superior to that of the colonizers. Experience has shown that the colonist despises the native-born and either eliminates him or absorbs him for his economic purposes. This situation prevents the healthy mixing of blood and the understanding that would enable them to work together for the benefit of the region or the country.<sup>768</sup>

Cárdenas shows insight into the lack of success of the integrative purpose of the immigration efforts of his predecessors, from the Porfiriato through the Maximato. In choosing endogamous groups with strong religious identities, they failed to achieve their goals to integrate newcomers with their new skills, resources, and knowledge into the surrounding dominant society.

Another lesson I have learned is the extent of violence used in the attempt to gain, regain, or restore the heritage, rights, control, resources, and cultural familiarities wrapped up in the local Mexican's quest for patrimony. Equal or greater in resource forms of violence were also part of the government's desire to create new patrimonies for the nation. In reflecting on the effects of violence on a culture, Greensburg concludes his thoughts by saying, "Perhaps the most pernicious effect of violence is the way it erodes trust. . . . Most tragic, although violence rarely settles anything but merely clears the way for more violence, it has become an accepted way of handling disputes."<sup>769</sup> So it was in 1930s' Mexico from Chiapas to Chihuahua. The violence varied in its kind and level. Its impact, however, was devastating to many of those engaged in the struggle.

Whether the violence was directed at the machines that pumped water past someone's property, at an agrarian leader actively attempting to take property for his family, friends, or those for whom he advocated, or a politician who voted the wrong way for a bill, it was pervasive in the

---

<sup>768</sup> Jesús Silva Herzog, *El agrarismo mexicano y la reforma agraria: exposición crítica* (México: fondo de cultura económica, 1985), p. 433.

<sup>769</sup> Greenberg, *Blood Ties*, p. 229.

1930s in Chihuahua. It seems that the perpetrator one year could be the victim the next. There were plenty of black and red banners and gold-colored shirts, but few easily identifiable “good” and “bad” participants in the struggles.

In the Introduction of this thesis, I mentioned the value of Fallaw’s work in comparing the variety and impact of 1930s conflicts in Campeche, Hidalgo, Guerrero, and Guanajuato.<sup>770</sup> In that same section, I also reviewed the work of Salinas on the same period in Morelos.<sup>771</sup> In Chapter Three, using several sources, but especially Bantjes, I briefly summarized the nature of the conflicts as they manifested themselves in Sonora, where religious conflicts were more plentiful and iconoclasm more extreme.<sup>772</sup> In states across Mexico, tensions boiled over in differing expressions of conflict and violence.

Though of a smaller scope than in other states, violence of the 1930s in Chihuahua was ubiquitous. While many of the conflicts in Chihuahua did not involve deadly use of force, and therefore do not appear in **Figure II**, p. 257, much of it was aimed at property, taking out anger and frustration by means of physical damage. The use of symbolic violence against liminal Chihuahuense “others” was also frequent. Colonies, isolated population centers, and endogamy served as boundaries to lessen this type of violence, but nevertheless it was a powerful form of “othering.”

In Chihuahua, few classes were exempted from violence, except perhaps where individuals or groups wielded violence so well that one challenged them at their own risk. Governor Rodrigo Quevedo was an example of this risk. Success was defined differently for each participant in the various conflicts. For some it was to initiate new ways of thinking and looking at things, while for

---

<sup>770</sup> Fallaw, *Religion and State Formation*, pp. 35-219.

<sup>771</sup> Salinas, *Untangling Mexico’s Noodle*, pp. 471-479.

<sup>772</sup> Bantjes, *As if Jesus Walked on Earth*, pp. 43-67.



others it was to preserve the past and the familiar. It is important to note that this reality was not unique to Chihuahua but was representative of the 1930s in other regions as well.<sup>773</sup>

Chihuahua had its own unique form of tension, its uniqueness expressed in ways that were as idiosyncratic as was Chihuahua among the states. Many factors influenced and limited the violence in Chihuahua to small scale events. The remoteness of the state and its topography limited the scope and influence of both the hierarchy of the Catholic Church and federal government officials. The immense size of the state caused a scattering of ordained clergy across many miles. At its worst, with one registered priest for the entire state, the ability to receive the sacraments was nonexistent. At the same time the influence of the lay Catholic was strengthened, especially at the parish level.

The strength of Antonio Guizar y Valencia, the bishop of Chihuahua, was perhaps the single strongest influence in limiting its church-state violence. Even though he was exiled on several occasions, his presence, calming influence, prestige, and insistence on peaceful protest never left the state. There certainly were those who objected to his moderate positions, but the Catholic faithful supported his leadership.

The ubiquitous presence of the border including the various forms of migration in both directions also impacted the violence as the presence of liminal outsiders living in isolated enclaves exacerbated the tensions and strained the state's resources. The proximity to the United States caused the state to have a large number of Protestant and returning Mexican migrants in addition to non-Protestant Mormons and Mennonites. This created unusual situations, for example those wherein the Mexican army was used to defend foreigners against Mexican citizens. It also meant

---

<sup>773</sup> Benjamin T. Smith, *Pistoleros and Popular Movements: The Politics of State Formation in Postrevolutionary Oaxaca*, The Mexican experience (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), pp. 46, 73, 402-414. Smith's summary of the 1930s in Oaxaca reads like it could have been written about Chihuahua.

that, in some cases returning Mexican citizens were viewed as outsiders and competitors with villagers and long-time residents for scarce resources.

In Chihuahua there was not the influence of one powerful oppositional leader as Enrique Rodríguez was in Morelos. General and then Governor Rodrigo M. Quevedo was a powerful and feared political figure in the 1930s in Chihuahua, but he was not ideologically driven. He used his power and influence to enrich himself and his extended family through control of many aspects of Chihuahua's underground culture, especially that of Ciudad Juárez.

The forms of violence in Chihuahua often manifested themselves in what I suggested as symbolic violence. It is challenging to associate symbolic violence with specific events. As mentioned in chapter one, it is more of an everyday type of violence exemplified in conversations, how someone was treated, low expectations, and using control or manipulation to influence others. Some hacendados or corporations paid their workers in a script usable only in the company store. In that case, that which was a form of symbolic violence, manifested itself daily. In the Introduction we met workers (*acasillados*) living on Chihuahua's hacienda properties who were excluded from their rights to partake in ejido distribution. This was a form of symbolic violence that lasted well into the 1930s.

In the same way, this thesis contains documented events that are part of a village or group's sacred history. Some are found only in the death records of those involved. Some archivists and interviewees cried when reading or remembering something involving someone close to them or their families. Many events were deeply personal for grandchildren and great-nephews I interviewed. While not having been personally involved in something so long ago, they still had deep

kinship and familial ties to the events.<sup>774</sup> I learned much from them and hoped to pass on some of what I have learned to the reader.

Another learning I appreciated in these three years of study has been the importance of small, seemingly unimportant microevents. When viewed as a pattern artfully described as a mosaic, fractal, or tapestry, these individual yet not isolated conflicts make sense as part of a greater fabric.

Throughout the study, I examined these events for evidence of a common thread running through them. After such searching, I found what I initially suggested might be a quest for lost patrimony. I have defined and described patrimony as a quest for resources, power, a return of the familiar, the customary, and the realization of promises not met. In the sample of events that have been documented in this thesis, I see aspects of many of these aspirations. I conclude the thesis with a continued sense of the importance of the quest for patrimony to the people of Chihuahua. I conclude that indeed it was a basis for the struggles therein that manifested themselves in the decade of the 1930s.

In the vast majority of cases, those aspirations for lost, forgotten, or perhaps even imagined patrimony were not successfully realized. During the eleven year time frame of this study, there were glimpses of hope in the rescinding of the offensive curriculums, in the reopening of the churches, the return of the priests, along with some progress in the distribution of land, including opportunities to purchase or acquire the rights to ejido lands after 1938.

As previously noted, in Chihuahua, there were no grand battles, large armies, and few statues to commemorate those who died for their dreams. The everyday denizens of Chihuahua

---

<sup>774</sup> Stefanie L. Gillson and David A. Ross, 'From Generation to Generation: Rethinking "Soul Wounds" and Historical Trauma', *Biological psychiatry*, 86.7 (2019), e19-e20 This draft article explores the concept of what some have deemed as "soul wounds" – epigenetic pain found in the descendants of those who have undergone pain and suffering. As I interviewed more descendants of these events in Chihuahua, I began to appreciate this construct. I look forward to learning more as the science of epigenetics matures. This is a biological science that seems to portend discoveries of great interest to the historian.

applied their resources, however meager, toward their goals. Competing patrimonies were real and a challenge to overcome. How could the Mormon or Mennonite other and the mestizo agriculturalist each reach their goals when land, and especially water was such a scarce resource? This question is a challenge that remains to be answered. Microevents continue into the twenty-first century. Competitors still talk past each other. At least, more often than shooting, they are talking now. I appreciate all who suffered a wound or died in their quest for what so many of them believed were their customary, perhaps even God-given rights.

I am restating the four research questions I proposed in the Introduction section. Based on all I have learned from my research over the past three years, I offer a response to each of them.

**Question One:** Was there indeed a pattern of religious and other conflicts sufficiently unified in purpose to justify whether or not La Segunda Cristiada in Chihuahua is worthy of being studied as a singular mosaic or tapestry?

Yes, there was indeed a pattern of events in Chihuahua worthy of being studied through a single lens. This question focuses on the pattern of events, not the term La Segunda Cristiada itself. That will be covered in question four.

The events identified in this thesis conform to a pattern in which a person or organization promoted, protested, or committed acts of violence against another person or entity to secure or restore rights, power, resources, including what has recently been deemed an internal locus of control (see fn. 2, p. vii). These attributes were in reality, or were perceived to have been taken, lost, or in danger of the same. The aggrieved party was an individual, family, community, association, or even the nation as a whole, as represented by its government. As suggested in the Introduction and now, confirmed by the thesis, the chain of events as evidenced in Chihuahua were evidence of the pattern.

**Question Two:** To what degree were those involved in those conflicts successful in their goal of gaining or restoring resources, rights, and an internal locus of control?

Based on the information gathered in this thesis, I conclude that very few involved in these conflicts successfully reached their goals of gaining or restoring resources and locus of control. In the 1930s, from the federal government to the individual in a small village in Chihuahua, very few were successful in meeting their goals regarding the restoration of patrimony. Governments failed to create either a new Mexico or Chihuahua. Neither did they create a new Mexican or Chihuahuense free from the superstitions, traditions, or beliefs inherent in the culture or understanding of their world. In 1940, the majority of both Mexicans and Chihuahuenses lived in rural communities of less than 2,500 persons.<sup>775</sup> These local communities formed the *cuna*, or cradle of their beliefs and heritage.

In 1930s Chihuahua, the campesino often lost out to the *ranchero*, the *extranjero* (foreigner), and the political class in their quest for land and water rights. In the early years of the political debacle of the decade, politicians debated, were replaced, and did not finish their full terms of office. In the mid and late-decade, Quevedo and Talamantes finished their terms but were very selective of those individuals, programs, and policies they supported. Those seeking ideological changes in terms of school-based curriculum failed to achieve their goals, especially in the later years of the Cárdenas presidency.

Those in Chihuahua protesting for their Catholic prerogatives and the church's authority were limited in the extent or violence of their resistance by a sure-minded and conservative

---

<sup>775</sup> Whetten, *Rural Mexico*, pp. 38, 579. Table 6 reveals that in 1940, 64.9 percent of Mexicans lived in villages of less than 2,500 persons. Table 4 in Appendix A reveals that in the same year, 63.3 percent of the population of Chihuahua lived in villages of less than 2,500 people.

bishop.<sup>776</sup> Antonio Guízar y Valencia threatened excommunication for those who took up arms. In addition, stridently anticlerical governors and members of the state congress often strongly opposed or were unsympathetic to their cause.

**Question Three:** To what degree were state and federal governments effective in solving the existing conflicts in 1930s Chihuahua?

The state and federal governments were unsuccessful in solving existing conflicts in Chihuahua. For much of the timeframe of this thesis, those governing Chihuahua favored a private parcel concept of land distribution. They also worked to block the redistribution of the land of foreigners or powerful hacendados for as long as possible. As previously stated, the Mennonite and Mormon, with their church-sponsored resources, were at times judged to be “new hacendados.” They were resented for the many properties and privileges they procured or were granted.

The state government also faced the challenges of many thousands of returning braceros from the United States, severe droughts, and continued foreign and corporate ownership of vast tracts of land. The federal government did not always communicate well with the state, especially regarding property ownership and migration, whether that of Mormons, Mennonites, refugee Spaniards, braceros, or foreign corporations.

The federal government based many federal troops in Chihuahua, using them to attack Cristeros and churches in Sonora and protect Mennonites from local protesters in Chihuahua. As previously noted, Chihuahua was also the first state in Mexico where the federal government took over a state’s public schools, instituting for a time, a new curricula and ideologies based on what many locals saw as an unwelcome education model.

---

<sup>776</sup> It wasn’t until 1958 that Antonio Guízar y Valencia was ordained Archbishop of Chihuahua.

The Chihuahua state government implemented extreme measures targeting closing churches and eliminating ministers from churches. As noted, via an amparo, the Supreme Court of Mexico intervened to declare as overly restrictive, the Chihuahua congress's strident limitations on religious ministers.

If anything, the government's decrees and laws over the decade exacerbated the conflicts. They were frequently unevenly interpreted and enforced. Those in Chihuahua with the influence and resources to do so, were able to appeal to a federal official or entity to overrule a regional, state, or local mandate or decision, especially with land disputes.

**Question Four:** If my research informs me to answer the first question in the affirmative, is the term "La Segunda Cristiada" the appropriate appellation for the mosaic revealed as further insight is gained into conflicts in 1930s Chihuahua?

Based on my study of the nature of many conflicts that manifested themselves in Chihuahua, I have concluded that the term La Segunda Cristiada is not a particularly appropriate appellation. The appellation La Segunda Cristiada is based on a series of conflicts that imply a continuation of, and similarity to the 1926-1929 Cristiada or Cristero War as fought in central and central-western Mexico. The term carries with it a heavily endowed religious connotation which limits an understanding of the complex nature of the conflicts, whether a mixture of sectarian, agrarian, ideological, or personal engagements.

Based on an extensive literature search I conducted in 2020, La Cristiada was a term coined by Jean Meyer, who then in 1973 also coined the term La Segunda or La Segunda Cristiada in Volume 3 of his extensive study. Since then, a number of Mexicanists have used the phrase to refer

to 1930s conflicts based in a wide-swath of Mexican territory from Chiapas to Veracruz, and from Sonora to Tamaulipas.<sup>777</sup>

These conflicts varied widely in their causation. Just referring to the two states mentioned explicitly in this thesis, the conflicts in Sonora were predominantly related to anticlerical and Indigenous rights. Those in Chihuahua were primarily over land and water rights. Perhaps the term *La Segunda Cristiada* would therefore better apply to the conflicts of Sonora, Veracruz, and Tabasco where anticlericalism was strongly state-driven, including many violent acts of iconoclasm. It may not be as adequate an appellation for the framework of conflicts in 1930's Chihuahua. Perhaps I, or someone else in the future will create a more appropriate and specific nomenclature for the conflicts and violence of 1930s Chihuahua.

The decade of the 1930s in Chihuahua was a challenging time as disparate groups and individuals sought through various means to find loci of power, resources, or lost heritage. Each of these is wrapped up in the term patrimony as used in this thesis. It was not a time of success but more often of failure. It would not be until well into the forties that hopes became realities for some in Chihuahua.<sup>778</sup>

Bantjes states: "By the 1920s and 1930s, the new elite, impatient with what they regarded as the retrograde habits of traditional society, sought to destroy the old Mexico and erect upon its ruins a new utopian society through a veritable cultural revolution."<sup>779</sup> Both these elite and the traditional pueblo largely failed to meet their goals. On all sides, the goals themselves needed to be modified prior to either a brighter reality or the darkness of further violence.

---

<sup>777</sup> I use the term Mexicanist to refer to those committed to a study of Mexican history, sociology, or anthropology regardless of their race or nationality.

<sup>778</sup> Aboites Aguilar, *Breve historia de Chihuahua*, pp. 157-163; Francisco Alba and Joseph E. Potter, 'Population and Development in Mexico since 1940: An Interpretation', *Population and Development Review*, 12.1 (1986), p. 47.

<sup>779</sup> Bantjes, 'Burning Saints, Molding Minds', p. 262.



Hamilton explains the complexity of the nature of the decades following the 1930s in Mexico by pointing out “In the thirty years following the Cárdenas administration Mexico was characterized by one of the highest sustained growth rates in the world, **coexisting with** increasingly high levels of unemployment and underemployment and the impoverishment of the majority of the population (emphasis mine).”<sup>780</sup> Aboites makes it clear that Chihuahua had much greater economic success in the decades from the 1940s through the 1950s as its cattle, cotton, and general agricultural industries achieved significant growth.<sup>781</sup> He also describes the incremental growth of the Chihuahua population between 1930 and 1970, more than three hundred percent, from 530,000 to 1,600,000 inhabitants.<sup>782</sup>

Some indeed have referred to the complex and sometimes contradictory three or four decades in Mexico following the 1930s as the “Mexican miracle,” an example of “Mexican exceptionalism” or even Mexico’s “golden age.”<sup>783</sup> Rath demurs a bit with this optimism as he states, “I argue that Cardenista discourse and policy toward the army in significant respects broke with the

---

<sup>780</sup> Hamilton, *The Limits of State Autonomy*, p. 4.

<sup>781</sup> Aboites Aguilar, *Breve historia de Chihuahua*, p. 157.

<sup>782</sup> Aboites Aguilar, *Breve historia de Chihuahua*, p. 161.

<sup>783</sup> Aboites Aguilar, *Breve historia de Chihuahua*, p. 163; Philip Chrimes, ‘Review of *Myths of Demilitarization in Postrevolutionary Mexico*’ by Thomas Rath’, *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-) 90th anniversary issue (January 2014)*, Vol. 90.1, pp. 243-244. Chrimes refers to the use of both the terms “Mexican Exceptionalism” and “Golden Age” to describe perspectives held by some of the decades following the 1930s. Stephen E. Lewis, ‘Review of *Myths of Demilitarization in Postrevolutionary Mexico*’ by Thomas Rath’, *The American Historical Review*, 119.2 (2014), 571-572. Lewis somewhat hesitantly refers to the “the Mexican Miracle” that “ground to a halt” to refer to how some historians looked at the decades following the 1930s. In each case the reviewers appear to be supporting Rath in his hesitance to accept the extent and reality of the various regime’s excellence in these thirty to forty years following the 1930s. Rath, ‘Burning the Archive, Building the State?’, p. 765. Thomas G. Rath, *Myths of demilitarization in postrevolutionary Mexico, 1920-1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), p. 32. In his ‘Burning the Archive, Building the State?’ article, Rath himself uses the term “so-called Mexican miracle” in quotation marks which generally indicates some level of skepticism with the accuracy of the descriptor (p. 765). Another use of the concept of Mexican “exceptionality” is used by Kees Koonings in his discussion of the “new violence” rearing its head in postrevolutionary Mexico that “ended Mexican ‘exceptionality.’” It appears that his perspective is that Mexican exceptionality was freedom from the old violence of the revolution that last for decades until new violence reared its head in the form of a “recent” and “contemporary violence.” Koonings, ‘New Violence, Insecurity, and the State’, p. 256, 270. Certainly new forms of violence have swept Chihuahua in recent decades. They have received and are deserving of further studies.

past, engendered considerable political conflict, debate, and resistance, and had markedly ambivalent results.”<sup>784</sup>

The decade of the sixties then brought conflicts reminiscent of the 1930s back to the state, involving the same type of violence between agrarian groups, the military, citizens (especially students and the Indigenous) and the same liminal outsiders. Episodes of murderous violence in Chihuahua between Mennonites, Mormons, and mestizos over patrimony (especially land and water) once again arose in the 1960s.<sup>785</sup> While a discussion of the same is beyond the scope of this thesis, there are useful sources for the resurgence of struggles in the 1960s that plagued both Mexico as a country and Chihuahua as a state.<sup>786</sup>

The decade of the 1930s in Chihuahua was a cold and dark time for many Chihuahuenses. Over the next decades it was better for some, but for many, it gave way to what has been deemed a “new violence” with a cold and darkness heretofore unknown. Where that will ultimately lead the state of Chihuahua is still unknown.

What were the limitations of this study? Reflecting on the last three years of study and research, I must “double down” on a phrase I used in the Introduction, “In essence, those events that can be confirmed as historically evident became the evidence (p. 68).” Contemporary

---

<sup>784</sup> Rath, *Myths of demilitarization*, pp. 32, 169-170.

<sup>785</sup> See Deseret News, *2 Listed Fair in Shooting* (Salt Lake City Utah, 2022) <[https://www.familysearch.org/photos/artifacts/148497866?p=45193581&returnLabel=Albert%20Kay%20Whetten%20\(KWJV-RDX\)&returnUrl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.familysearch.org%2Ftree%2Fperson%2Fmemories%2FKWJV-RDX](https://www.familysearch.org/photos/artifacts/148497866?p=45193581&returnLabel=Albert%20Kay%20Whetten%20(KWJV-RDX)&returnUrl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.familysearch.org%2Ftree%2Fperson%2Fmemories%2FKWJV-RDX)> [accessed 13 June 2023]; Aboites Aguilar, *Breve historia de Chihuahua*, p. 164; John Jerome Whetten, *Las Colonias - The Mormon Colonies in Mexico: The San Diego Incident* (2021), <<http://www.lascolonias.org/category/stories/>>. The source Las Colonias is a useful source for Mormon Mexican Colony material as long as the user understands the popular and strongly polemic nature of the history that is recounted therein. Philip Stover, oral interview with John J. Whetten, *Murder and Wounding of Whettens in San Diego, Chihuahua March 13, 1965*, John J. Whetten (Nuevo Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, 2020); Sawatzky, *They Sought a Country*, pp. 194-206; Schmiedehaus, *Dios es Nuestra Fortaleza*, pp. 225-231.

<sup>786</sup> Aboites Aguilar, *Breve historia de Chihuahua*, pp. 164-167; Jesús Vargas Valdés, *Madera Rebelde: Movimiento agrario y guerrilla (1959-1965)* (Chihuahua, México: Ediciones Nueva Vizcaya, 2015); Henson, *Agrarian Revolt in the Sierra of Chihuahua*; Elena Poniatowska, *Massacre in Mexico* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991); Paco I. Taibo, *'68: The Mexican Autumn of the Tlatelolco Massacre* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2019).

newspaper accounts and personal interviews became the source for details of the events. These were supplemented by diaries and family histories, as in the events involving the Chihuahuense Mormons. On more than one occasion, it has been suggested to me by Chihuahuense historians that I would find more information in Chihuahua archives about the colonial period five centuries ago, than about the dark parts of the 1930s. My personal experience, researching from Parral to Ciudad Juárez, confirms that prediction.

What are the opportunities for further study that became known from my research into religion and violence in the 1930s? While it would be an extensive work, a study specifically comparing and contrasting the nature of La Segunda conflicts in the 1930s across Mexico would be beneficial. Beyond those previously mentioned by Fallaw, I have not found such in the historiography. Although each in its own way was intense, there certainly are varieties of events experienced in Tabasco, Oaxaca, Veracruz, Morelos, Colima, San Luis Potosí, Michoacán, Durango, Nayarit, Sinaloa, Sonora, Chihuahua, and Tamaulipas.

Another excellent area for further study is the relationship of the violence of the long-view revolution in Chihuahua (1892-1940) with the current (twenty-first century) pattern of violence found in the state. Is it possible that the intense localized violence in revolutionary (including the 1930s) Chihuahua was a cradle, nest, or harbinger of the fierce new violence of the decades from the late 1980s into the present?

Yet another area of interest may be a longitudinal study, covering from 1920-2020, the specific violence over land, Mexicanness, and economic success of both the Mennonites and Mormons in Chihuahua. After all my research for this thesis, I conclude that much of the violence between each of these two groups and the local Mexican populations wherein they lived both was and is, for their own reasons, either unknown or unreported by any party. Many, if not most, of the

studies of Mormons in Chihuahua end with the revolutionary exodus in 1912. Those of the Mennonites focus on their early years in Mexico (1922-1940) and neglect their struggles and changes from 1980 to the present that have cause some to migrate once more, for example into the jungles of Belize and Bolivia.

Connected to the study of the Mormons, there is a significant need for an academic study of the LeBaron community of northwestern Chihuahua. It is an eighty-year-old culture that may be unique in all of Mexico. There have been many sensationalist books written about them, but nothing to my knowledge, from an academic perspective that does justice to the complexity of their history and culture as manifested in their wealth, power, and influence in the state.

Go back with me to the recounting of the Third Convention in Mexico, where we discussed the Mexican convert Mormon's quest for patrimony and identity that made sense to them and fit into their LDS theological framework. I analyzed their search as a quest for patrimony and identity that both gave them meaning and *dignidad*, or dignity, specifically in an LDS doctrinal context.

Connecting this conflict with that of two years later, the 1938 nationalization of oil resources in Mexico, I see one further connection. Referring to the general conflict that resulted from the nationalization of oil and the exodus of parts and skilled workers from the oilfields, Galeano says it well when he hits on the unique interaction of Mexican determination, passion, ingenuity, and skill, "The Mexican workers mend, improvise, invent, getting by on pure enthusiasm, and so the magic of creation begins to make dignity possible."<sup>787</sup> Through all the conflict, frustration, and even failure, the continued struggle for a better life in the 1930s and beyond adorns the landscape of this rugged

---

<sup>787</sup> Eduardo Galeano, *Century of the Wind: Memory of Fire*, Vol. 3 (New York, N.Y.: Nation Books, 2010), pp. 112-113.

state and its people. The first sentence in the introduction to Edelson's work will be one of the last in mine. "For many, Latin America seems condemned to repetition."<sup>788</sup>

On a full-time basis, I live in a small village in the region about which I wrote in this thesis. I serve on local historical commissions and often speak of its history to interested groups of citizens, students, and visitors. Mine is not the passion of one who studies and heads "back home" to write. I write surrounded by the people, events, and culture I study.

After years, I have a sense of identification with such events. In such a situation, I must admit that even proximate neutrality and objectivity are goals requiring significant discipline. As written in the Introduction (p. 61), "getting close" to objectivity is indeed a worthy goal for the obscured history contained in this thesis.

It became clear over time and page after page that such identification was vital to whom and by whom the violence was perpetrated. In the small village where I live, there are five primary families. Anyone not of those families, even those who inter-marry, are more or less always "others," even if they came from just a short distance down the road.

I took my first undergraduate history course in 1967, a time of turmoil and tension. As I worked towards my baccalaureate degree in history, my professors in those days inculcated in us the priority of understanding history in light of its relevance to the struggles of then contemporary times, the difficult 1960s. With that same priority in mind, the history of the turmoil of 1930s Chihuahua, even though not successful in attaining its goals, is meaningful and relevant for a better understanding of the same region today.<sup>789</sup>

---

<sup>788</sup> Jeremy Adelman (ed.), *Colonial Legacies: The Problem of Persistence in Latin American History* (Routledge, 1999).

<sup>789</sup> Steege, and others, 'The History of Everyday Life', p. 362; Eley, *A Crooked Line*, pp, 1-2, 5. In the article by Steege and others, they write, "Taken together, the work of the historian of everyday life is thus never just about

With that in mind, for me, everyday life in Chihuahua is not only something I study. It is something I live. I live what I study in my daily interactions with ejidatarios, local cronistas, priests, shopkeepers, potters, Latter-day Saints, Mennonites, LeBarons, and all our village's fine young people. I live what I study as somewhat of a liminal other in our village culture. Out of respect, sometimes I am Don Felipe. At other times, much rarer than when we first came here eighteen years ago, I am the American, perhaps in this part of Chihuahua, the consummate outsider.

I am almost always one step away from making a mistake that creates distance and dissonance, especially in these days when drought is ever-present on everyone's mind. We are just weeks away from a repeat of the great drought of 1931 and the significant economic loss it will bring to agriculturalists and cattle ranchers alike. For me, this thesis is an everyday living document.

Living full-time now for ten years in a small village in the heart of the high desert of northwest Chihuahua, I now better understand the various forms of violence I see in this state today. Perhaps this is because of a better understanding of what occurred yesterday (in the 1930s). As indicated in chapter two (p. 124), the violence observed in La Segunda was not the product of a "historicized morality tale." It was the story of everyday people seeing through the lens, and then acting upon what they deem best for those who depend on them, especially in their family and village.

Lüdtke writes: "In doing the history of everyday life, attention is focused not just on the deeds (and misdeeds) and pageantry of the great, the masters of Church and State. Rather, central to the thrust of everyday historical analysis is the life and survival of those who have remained largely

---

those persons in the past but also—and in an explicitly critical fashion—about all of us in the present." In chapter one of his work, *A Crooked Line: From Cultural History to the History of Society*, Geoff Eley stresses the importance of the relevance of his own undergraduate history studies at Oxford, contemporary with my own at a small and much less prestigious Methodist-oriented university in rural Arkansas. He wrote, "Many students in the late sixties were moved by a strong and often passionate sense of history's relevance for the present, after all. We saw it not only as an aid to effective political thinking, but also as a tool for honing a critical social consciousness and for working our way toward a workable political ethics."

anonymous in history.”<sup>790</sup> Such is the history of 1930s Chihuahua. The players in this drama and their words are largely unknown. They were caught up in events and forms of violence that threatened their everyday life as they believed it should be lived. Hopefully this thesis sheds a bit of light on the obscurity, darkness, and silence of that time.

---

<sup>790</sup> Lüdtke, ‘What is the History of Everyday Life?’, p. 4.

## **Appendices**



## Appendix One

**Figure II Proximate Total of Deaths Included in Thesis**

<b>Event</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Reported Deaths</b>
Agrarian Pedro Marmolejo	1927	1
Battle of Malpaís deaths	1929	25
Juarez Political	1930	2
Congress Political	1930	3
Agrarians Killed	1931	3
Three police killed in Guerrero	1931	3
Zamaloapan Confrontation	1932	10
Mennonites Killed by Agrarians	1930-1932	4
Killed by Troops Protecting Mennonites	1930-1932	2
Mexico City Political Assassination	1934	2
Agrarista Victorio Ponce	1934	1
Juarez Political	1935	2
Parral Churches	1935	1
Carichí School Violence	1935	3
Camargo Protest Violence	1936	10
Ortega Death in Santa Isabel	1936	1
Death of Father Maldonado	1937	1
Political Assassination	1938	1
Cuesta Blanca Conflict - Babicora	1939	4
Agrarian and Police Conflict	1940	3
Casas Grandes Family of Five	1940	5
<b>Proximate Total of Deaths</b>		<b>87</b>

## Appendix Two

**Figure 12 Calculations of Amendments by Article and Decade 1920-1959<sup>791</sup>**

Article	1920s	1930s	1940s	1950s	Total
3	-	1	1	-	2
5	-	-	1	-	1
20	-	-	1	-	1
27	-	2	4	-	6
30	-	1	-	-	1
32	-	1	1	-	2
34	-	-	-	1	1
37	-	1	-	-	1
42	-	1	-	-	1
43	-	3	-	1	4
45	-	4	-	1	5
49	-	1	-	1	2
51	-	1	-	-	1
52	1	-	1	1	3
55	-	1	-	-	1
56	-	1	-	-	1
58	-	1	-	-	1
59	-	1	-	-	1
Subtotals	1	20	9	5	35

<sup>791</sup>Texto original de la Constitución de 1917 y de las reformas publicadas en el Diario Oficial de la Federación del 5 de febrero de 1917 al 1o. de junio de 2009. La compilación. Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas. [www.juridicas.unam.mx](http://www.juridicas.unam.mx).

Figure 12: Calculations for Article Amendments by Article and Decade (Continued)

Article	1920s	1930s	1940s	1950s	Total
67	1	-	-	-	1
69	1	-	-	-	1
72	1	-	-	-	1
73	3	6	8	1	18
74	1	-	-	-	1
76	1	-	1	-	2
79	2	1	-	-	3
82	1	-	1	-	2
83	2	1	-	-	3
84	1	1	-	-	2
85	-	1	-	-	1
89	2	-	1	-	3
94	1	1	1	1	4
95	-	1	-	-	1
96	1	-	-	-	1
97	1	-	1	1	3
98	1	-	-	1	2
99	1	-	-	-	1
100	1	-	-	-	1
102	-	-	1	-	1
104	-	1	1	-	2
107	-	-	-	1	1
111	1	-	1	-	2
115	1	1	2	1	5
117	-	-	2	-	2
123	1	2	1	-	4
131	-	-	-	1	1
133	-	1	-	-	1
Subtotals	25	17	21	7	70
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>105</b>

These Data do not include Transitory, Transitional, or Articles that were not Amended in These Years.

## **APPENDIX THREE**

### **Various Documents**

Figure 13 Letter from Casas Grandes Mormons to Regional Ejido Office<sup>792</sup>

C. ORGANIZADOR REGIONAL,  
DE EJIDOS,  
Rancho Ejidal, CHIH.

Los que suscribimos, mexicanos por nacimiento, vecinos de la  
Colonia Dublan, Chih., Municipalidad de N. Casas Grandes ante usted como  
mejor proceda exponemos:

QUE somos jóvenes mayores de (16) dieciséis años, unos casa-  
dos y otros solteros, que por herencia somos agricultores que carecemos  
de tierra que cultivar para atender a nuestras necesidades, que aprove-  
chando que el EJIDO DE CASAS GRANDES tiene gran extensión de tierra --  
pastal que se puede convertir en tierra de labor por medio del trabajo  
,nuestros estamos dispuestos a emprender dicho trabajo.

Por lo que a usted suplicamos se sirva ordenar se nos fa-  
ciliten permisos oficiales en el lugar indicado puesto que llenamos los  
requisitos que marca la ley, en la inteligencia que estamos dispuestos  
a cumplir con todas las disposiciones agrarias. Como el año no presenta  
bajo las mejores condiciones para emprender estos cultivos, muy atenta-  
mente pedimos se de una pronta resolución a nuestra solicitud.

Protestamos decir verdad en todo lo expuesto.-

Colonia Dublan, Chih., a 27 de febrero de 1932.

*Edgar Taylor*  
*Catarino J. Garcia*  
*Lynn Taylor*  
*Lamar Taylor*  
*Clara Taylor*  
*Dreston Longhurst*  
*Arlton Longhurst*  
*Melvin O'Donnell*  
*Valden O'Donnell*  
*E. Bowman*

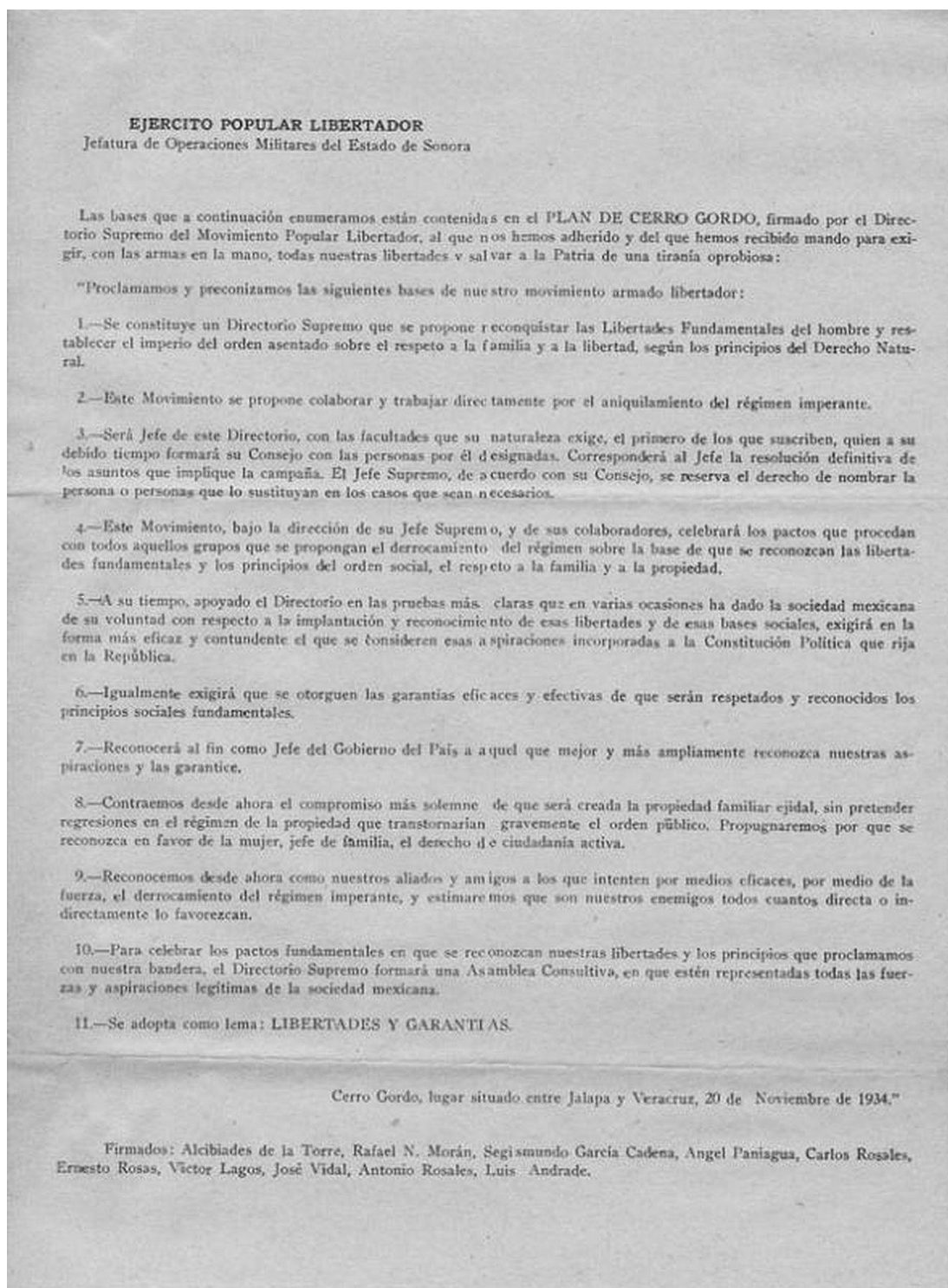
*Burdell Bowman*  
*Memell Taylor*  
*Angie Taylor*  
*Angie Taylor*  
*Rubén O. Farnsworth*

<sup>792</sup> Anonymous source at provider's request.

Figure 14 Mormon Water Hoarding Protest Nuevo Casas Grandes April 7, 1938<sup>793</sup>

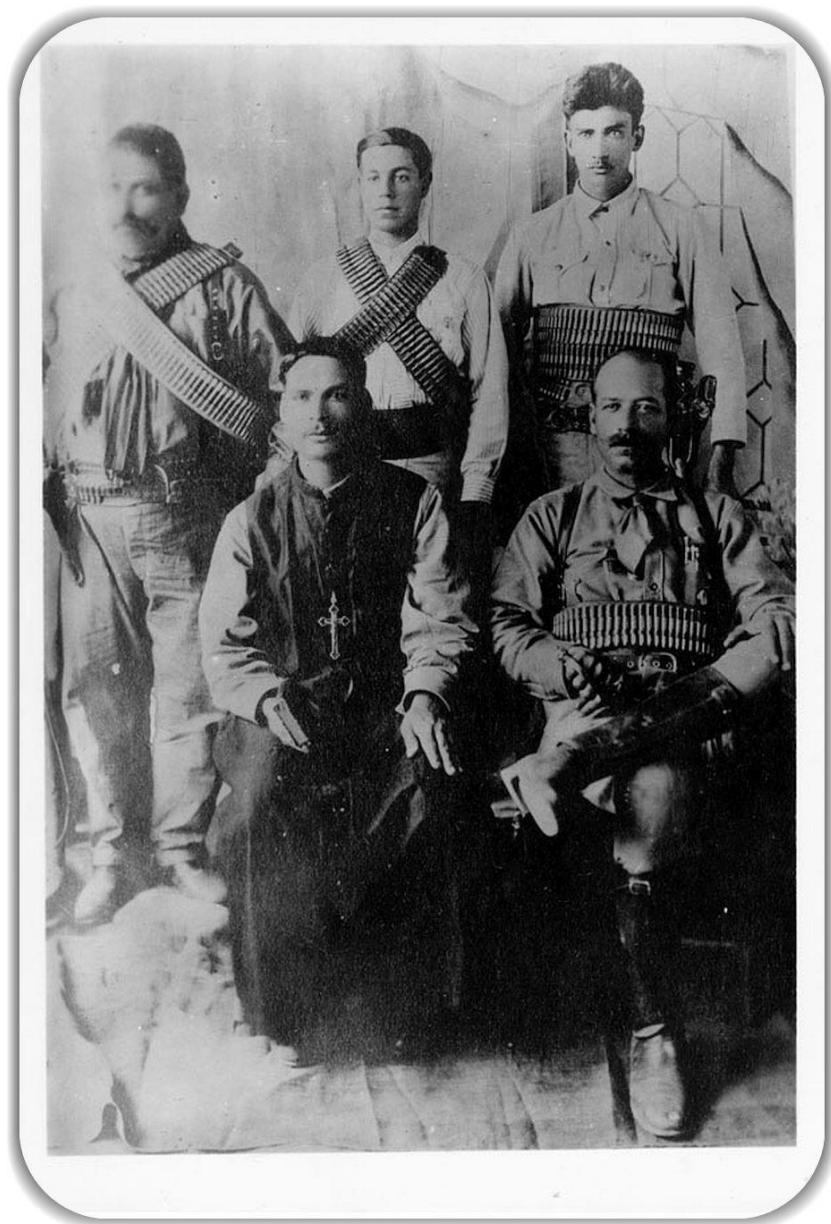


<sup>793</sup> Photo by Soto Camera Company, Nuevo Casas Grandes, Chihuahua April 7, 1938. AHA, Aprovechamientos Superficiales, C. 337, exp. 7210.

Figure 15 Plan de Cerro Gordo<sup>794</sup>

<sup>794</sup> Plan de Cerro Gordo, Special Collections Online Exhibits. University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ (UASC) <https://speccoll.library.arizona.edu/online-exhibits/items/show/84>.

Figure 16 General Ibarra During the Cristero War - Seated Right<sup>795</sup>



---

<sup>795</sup> Cristeros en Jalisco sentados, *De la Torre Family Papers Collection*, Special Collections Online Exhibits (UASC). University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ <https://speccoll.library.arizona.edu/online-exhibits/exhibits/show/delatorre/item/104>.



Figure 17 Ordenado y Ordenante in Hidden Seminary<sup>796</sup>



---

<sup>796</sup> Ordenado y Ordenante, *De la Torre Family Papers Collection*, Special Collections Online Exhibits (UASC). University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ <https://speccoll.library.arizona.edu/online-exhibits/items/show/207>.

Figure 18 Telegram to President Cárdenas about Mormon Water Use<sup>797</sup>

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CORREOS Y TELEGRAFOS  
ESTADOS UNIDOS MEXICANOS  
SERVICIO DE LA PRESIDENCIA DE LA REPUBLICA

**TELEGRAMA**

X 85 NUM 84 53-5.75 ORD PD D 18:15 VIA CD JUAREZ CHIH IS 7 ABR 1938

PRESIDENCIA DE LA REPUBLICA 37  
259  
OFICINA DE COMUNICACIONES

NUEVA CASAS GRANDES CHIH 7 ABRIL 1938  
C PRESIDENTE DE LA REPUBLICA  
PALACIO NACIONAL MEXICO D F

20872  
Secretaría Particular  
508-1/326

LIGAS FEMENILES GUADALUPE VICTORIA, EJIDO HIDALGO ENRIQUEZ, SEC-  
CION HIDALGO Y NUEVA CASAS GRANDES, SUPLICANLE INTERVENCION SU  
GOBIERNO EFECTO CONCESIONARIOS MOREMONES LAGUNAS CASAS GRANDES PRO-  
PORCTONEN AGUA RIEGO TRIGOS EJIDOS TRABAJAN NUESTROS ESPOSOS Y JEFES  
FAMILIA, ESTAN PUNTO PERDERSE POR FALTA PRECIADO ELEMENTO. CON-  
FIAMOS USTED Y POR LO MISMO ANTICIPAMOSLE NUESTRO AGRADECIMIENTO.  
POR LIGAS FEMENILES.-

JULIA FLORES DE MUÑOZ..

ACUERDO  
7 ABR 1938

<sup>797</sup> Flores de Muñoz, Archivo Histórico del Estado de Chihuahua, Caja 2; Expediente 19.

Figure 19 – Monument to Agrarian Martyrs at Municipal Building in Peña Blanca, Chihuahua<sup>798</sup>



---

<sup>798</sup> Photo by the author.

## Abbreviations Cited

- ACJM — Asociación Católica de la Juventud Mexicana  
ACECG — Archivo Comisario Ejidal de Casas Grandes  
AGN — Archivo General de la Nación  
AHA — Archivo Histórico del Agua in Ciudad México  
AMC — Archivo Municipal de Cuauhtémoc  
AMJC — Archivo Municipal de Janos, Chihuahua  
AHNCG — Archivo Histórico de Nuevo Casas Grandes  
AHUNAM — El Archivo Histórico de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México  
ARM — Acción Revolucionaria Mexicanista  
CNA — Comisión Nacional Agraria  
CROM — Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana  
CTM — Confederación de Trabajadores de México  
DIPS — Directorate of Political and Social Investigations  
IRDP — Iglesia del Reino de Dios en su Plenitud  
LDS — Latter-day Saints – refers to either the church or its members  
LNDLR— La Liga Nacional Defensora de La Libertad Religiosa  
MCC — Mennonite Central Committee  
PAN—Partido Acción Nacional  
PCM — Partido Comunista Mexicano  
PNR — Partido Nacional Revolucionario  
SCAMEC — Secretaria de la Comisión Agraria Mixta en el Estado de Chihuahua  
SEP — Secretaria de Educación Pública  
UASC — University of Arizona Special Collections  
WIPO — World Intellectual Property Organization

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

#### Archival Collections Contacted, Visited, Researched

Adams, Hugh, *Hugh Adams Childhood*

<[https://www.familysearch.org/photos/artifacts/168412963?p=53199727&returnLabel=Willie%20Hugh%20Adams%20\(KWZY-532\)&returnUrl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.familysearch.org%2Ftree%2Fperson%2Fmemories%2FKWZY-532](https://www.familysearch.org/photos/artifacts/168412963?p=53199727&returnLabel=Willie%20Hugh%20Adams%20(KWZY-532)&returnUrl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.familysearch.org%2Ftree%2Fperson%2Fmemories%2FKWZY-532)>

Archivo Histórico de la Arquidiócesis de Chihuahua

Archivo Comisario Ejidal de Casas Grandes

Archivo General de la Nación de Mexico

Archivo Histórico del Agua in Ciudad México

Archivo Histórico del Estado de Chihuahua

Archivo Histórico de Nuevo Casas Grandes

Archivo Municipal de Cuauhtémoc, Chihuahua

Archivo Municipal de San Andrés, Chihuahua

Archivo Municipal de Santa Isabel, Chihuahua

British Museum The, *Joseph Pyke: Information* <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG127410>

Casas Grandes, Chihuahua Municipal Archives

Church of Jesus Christ of Later-day Saints, Church History Department Archives

Colecciones Especiales de la Universidad Panamericana, *General Roque González Garza: Archivo, biblioteca, fototeca, hemeroteca y objetos personales del General Roque González Garza* (2013)

<<https://biblio.upmx.mx/colecciones/roque.html>>

*De la Torre Family Papers Collection*, Special Collections Online Exhibits (UASC). University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ

Ferrer Mendiola, Gabriel, *Historia del Congreso Constituyente de 1916-1917* (México, 2014)

<<https://inehrm.gob.mx/work/models/Constitucion1917/Resource/686/Mendiola.pdf>>

*Fondo Cardenismo: Sección Motrairas 1935-1940*, Archivo Histórico de Nuevo Casas Grandes, Serie 9

H. Congreso del Estado, *Constitución Política del Estado de Chihuahua: Publicada el 17 de junio de 1950 en el Periódico Oficial del Estado No. 48* (Ciudad Chihuahua)

<<https://www.congresochihuahua2.gob.mx/biblioteca/constitucion/archivosConstitucion/actual.pdf>>

Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía, *Third Population Census of the United Mexican States 1910* (1910)

<https://en.www.inegi.org.mx/programas/ccpv/1910/>

Juan Navarrete y Guerrero Collection, *The University of Arizona Special Collections (UASC)*, The University of Arizona Special Collection, MS 423

La Iglesia en Mexico, *De la Torre Family Papers Collection*, Special Collections Online Exhibits (UASC). University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ

March 1935, Registro civil en Nuevo Casas Grandes Archivo Municipio

"México, Chihuahua, Registro Civil, 1861-1997," database with images, familysearch.org, *FamilySearch: Dionicio Flores, Death Registration 12 July 1932* (Cuauhtémoc, México (AMC)

<<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QGC5-2K44>>

'México, Chihuahua, Registro Civil, 1861-1997', in *FamilySearch* (1861-1997)

Archivo Comisario Ejidal de Casas Grandes

Museo y Centro Cultural Menonita, Cuauhtémoc, Chihuahua

Orozco, José C., *La Acechanza: Work of Art - Mural* (Mexico City, 1926)

*Persona 8 - Defunción de Pedro Marmolejo*, 18 April, 1927, Registro civil en Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, pp. 17-19

*Quinto Censo de Población 1930. Tabulados básicos. Superficie y densidad de los estados unidos mexicanos por entidades federativas. Censos de 1900, 1910, 1921 y 1930*

<[https://en.www.inegi.org.mx/programas/ccpv/1930/#Tabular\\_data](https://en.www.inegi.org.mx/programas/ccpv/1930/#Tabular_data)>;

<[https://en.www.inegi.org.mx/programas/ccpv/1940/#Tabular\\_data](https://en.www.inegi.org.mx/programas/ccpv/1940/#Tabular_data)>

Secretaría de la Comisión Agraria Mixta en el Estado de Chihuahua

Silvestre Terrazas Papers, Circa 1883-1944, *BANC MSS M-B 18: Biography* (Berkeley)

<[https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/tf2q2n99qr/entire\\_text/](https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/tf2q2n99qr/entire_text/)>

*Subsección protocolos*, Archivo Histórico de Nuevo Casas Grandes, Serie Proscripción de Terrenos 1935-1940

*Thatcher, Moses, 1842-1909* (2023) <<https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/MMD/id/29944/rec/4.>>

Thatcher, Moses, *Thatcher, Moses (Mexico) vol. 2, 1880, 1880*, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Vault MSS 248

*United States Census, 1940: Entry for William Adams and Adeline Adams, 1940*

<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:K47C-PQ4>

University of Texas El Paso, Microfilm Archives

U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, *INS Records for 1930s Mexican Repatriations* (Washington, DC, 2020)

<<https://www.uscis.gov/about-us/our-history/history-office-and-library/featured-stories-from-the-uscis-history-office-and-library/ins-records-for-1930s-mexican-repatriations>>

### **Oral Interviews and Personal Communications**

Avitia Hernández, Antonio, *First use of "La Segunda Cristiada" in the Literature of the 1930s*, Philip R. Stover (Mexico City, 2023)

Chávez Valenzuela, Leopoldo H., *The Patrimony of the Foundation of Casas Grandes, The Desert Patrimony of Chihuahua* (Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, 2023)

Chavira Rodríguez, Victoria, *Número de muertos en Camargo Plaza 3 mayo 1945*, Philip R. Stover (Los Cabos, Baja to Mata Ortiz, Chihuahua, 2024)

Contreras Álvarez, Julián, *Death of Pedro Marmolejo*, Julián Contreras Álvarez (Online Interview, 2023)

Escolar Quintana, Osmar Alberto, *Archivista*, (Archivos de Nuevo Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, 2022)

Farnsworth, Kenneth, *Meaning of the word "Albérchigo" in peach horticulture*, Kenneth Farnsworth (Colonia Juárez, Chihuahua, 2023)

Hatch, John, Bishop (Juárez Ward, Colonia Juárez, Chihuahua), 2020

Leyva, Rubén, *Cronista* (Gila Apache Tribe), 2024

Martinez, José, *Conflict in Bustillos on July 14, 1932*, José Martinez (Bustillos, Chihuahua, 2022)

Morris, Nathaniel, *Red and Black Banners Email Message*, Philip R. Stover (Mata Ortiz, Chihuahua, 2020)

Orrantía Jiménez, Socorro, Eugenio Gaona Arreola, and Yulissa Camarena, *History of Ejido Peña Blanca Conflict on April 14, 1939*, Socorro Orrantía Jiménez, Eugenio Gaona Arreola and Yulissa Camarena (Municipal Office, Ejido Peña Blanca, Chihuahua, 2021)

- Ortíz, Francisco, *The Murder of Father Pedro Jesus Maldonado and the Clash between Federal Troop and Armed Agrarians near Ejido Bustillos, Chihuahua*, Francisco Ortíz (Office of the Cronista, San Andrés, Chihuahua, 2022)
- Peters, Jacob, *Mennonites in Mexico*, Servicios Integrales Menonita (Nuevo Casas Grandes, CH Mexico, 2023)
- Ponce Zubia, Reyna, Archivista (Registro Civil, Municipio de Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, 2022)
- Portillo, David, President, Ejido de Casas Grandes, (Nuevo Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, 2021)
- Ramírez Jacobo, Alma, Dirección de Cultura, (Janos, Chihuahua, 2024)
- Ramos Castillo, Sra., *Revista Anáhuac: Alguien que lo ayude con esta historia por favor* (Anáhuac, Chihuahua, 2022)  
<https://www.facebook.com/AnahuacCh/posts/pfbid02i5AscmeGIgXbbbPxxkbXEbMysajrpx8DryeBrzkgHWzjFZwzKLSg6yP23KEdhhfql>
- Rodríguez, Nestor, *History of Ejido Malpaís and the Battle of Malpaís, 1929*, Nestor Rodríguez (Rodríguez Ranch, Ejido Malpaís, Chihuahua, 2021)
- Rosales Villa, Manuel, *Cronista, Municipality of Camargo, Chihuahua*, Manuel Rosales Villa (Casa de Camargo Archives and Museum, 2023)
- Rubio, Fernando. Archivista, (Archives del Municipio de Nuevo Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, 2023)
- Whetten, John J., *Murder and Wounding of Whettens in San Diego, Chihuahua March 13, 1965*, John J. Whetten (Nuevo Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, 2020)

### **Published Primary Works and Collections**

- H. N. Branch and L. S. Rowe, 'The Mexican Constitution of 1917 Compared with The Constitution of 1857', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 71 (1917), i-116
- findagrave.com, *Memorial page for Bill Adams (1889-1979): Find a Grave Memorial ID 126585894* [accessed 27 November, 2023]
- INAH: El Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, *Mexico's National Institute of Anthropology and History: Gobierno de la Ciudad de México* <<https://mexicocity.cdmx.gob.mx/tag/inah/>>
- *¿Quiénes somos?* (México, 2022) <https://inah.gob.mx/quienes-somos>
- John Jerome Whetten, *Las Colonias - The Mormon Colonies in Mexico: The San Diego Incident* (2021)  
 <<http://www.lascolonias.org/category/stories/>>



Klein, O. J. B., *Orson Pratt Brown (1863-1946): His Five Wonderful Wives and their 34 Children an Honest and Healing Account of their Life Histories*, 2 vols (Mesa Ariz. USA: O.J.B. Klein, 2007)

*Las Colonias - The Mormon Colonies in Mexico: Orson Pratt Brown 1863-1946*

<<http://www.lascolonias.org/2018/06/18/orson-pratt-brown/>>

Memoria Política de México, *1926 Encíclica Iniquis Afflictisque, sobre la durísima situación del catolicismo en México. Pío XI: Roma, en San Pedro, 18 de noviembre de 1926* (2023)

<<https://www.memoriapoliticademexico.org/Textos/6Revolucion/1926IQA.html>>

— *1932 Encíclica Acerba Animi. Sobre la persecución de la Iglesia de México. Pío XI.: Roma, en San Pedro, 29 de septiembre de 1932* (2023) <<https://www.memoriapoliticademexico.org/Textos/6Revolucion/1932-AAE.html>>

AAE.html>

Paez Gomez, Rogelio F., *The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and the Lamanite Conventions: From Darkness to Light* (Mexico City: Museo de Historia del Mormonismo en Mexico., 2004)

Palavicini, Félix F., *Historia de la Constitución de 1917: Tomo I* (México, 2014)

<[https://inehrm.gob.mx/work/models/Constitucion1917/Resource/642/Historia\\_Constitucion\\_\\_1917\\_T\\_I.pdf](https://inehrm.gob.mx/work/models/Constitucion1917/Resource/642/Historia_Constitucion__1917_T_I.pdf)>

Pew Research Center, 'Mormons in America – Certain in Their Beliefs, Uncertain of Their Place in Society', *Pew Research Center's Religion & Public Life Project*, 11 January 2012

<<https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/2012/01/12/mormons-in-america-executive-summary/>>

Pius XI Encyclicals, *Firmísimam Constantiam Encyclical of Pope Pius XI on the religious situation in Mexico to the venerable brethren, the archbishops, bishops, and other ordinaries of Mexico in peace and communion with the Apostolic See*

<[https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf\\_p-xi\\_enc\\_19370328\\_firmissimam-constantiam.html](https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_19370328_firmissimam-constantiam.html)>

Pyke, Mexico City, to Foreign Office, 29 November 1935, FO 371/18707, 10787 in Knight, 1994', p. 83.

Quas Primas, *Encyclical of Pope Pius XI on the Feast of Christ the King to our Venerable Brethren the Patriarchs, Primate, Archbishops, Bishops, and other Ordinaries in Peace and Communion with the Apostolic See: Pius XI - Encyclicals* (1925)

<[https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf\\_p-xi\\_enc\\_11121925\\_quas-primas.html](https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_11121925_quas-primas.html)>

Statista, *Population of Mexico 1800-2020* <<https://www.statista.com/statistics/1066995/population-mexico-historical/>>

Taylor, Harold W., *Memories of Militants & Mormon Colonists in Mexico* (Yorba Linda, CA: Shumway Family History Services, 1992)

Taylor, Harvey H., *The Life and Times of Harvey Hyrum Taylor 1890-1972: An Autobiography*, Daniel P. Taylor (Yorba Linda, CA: Shumway Family History Services, 1990)

### **Table of Figures (Figures and Graphics)**

Figure 1: *Overlapping Tensions in the 1930s*. Stover, Philip R. Created by Author for the Thesis

Figure 2: *Laws, Decrees, and Executive Orders Related to Ejidos 1915-1934*. Simpson, Eyer N., *The Ejido: Mexico's Way Out*: (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937), data taken from pp. 719-745

Figure 3: *Distribution of Land for Ejidos by President from 1915 to 1940*. Figueras, Juan A., 'Agrarian Reform and Agricultural Development in Mexico' (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Florida, 1972), p. 79

Figure 4: *Map Showing Number of Approved Priests by State during La Segunda*. La Iglesia en Mexico, De la Torre Family Papers Collection, Special Collections Online Exhibits (UASC). University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ  
<https://speccoll.library.arizona.edu/online-exhibits/items/show/99>

Figure 5: *Data from the 1910 Mexican Census and Constitutional Convention*. Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI), Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía 1910; Gabriel Ferrer Mendiola, *Historia del Congreso Constituyente de 1916-1917* (México, 2014), data taken from pp. 163-173  
<<https://inehrm.gob.mx/work/models/Constitucion1917/Resource/686/Mendiola.pdf>> (pp. 163-173)

Figure 6: *1917 Constitution Articles that Proved to be Controversial*. Data developed by author from H. N. Branch and L. S. Rowe, 'The Mexican Constitution of 1917 Compared with The Constitution of 1857', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 71 (1917), i-116

Figure 7: *Chihuahua Population Growth from 1921 to 1940*. Quinto Censo de Población 1930. Tabulados básicos. Superficie y densidad de los estados unidos mexicanos por entidades federativas. Censos de 1900, 1910, 1921 y 1930 <[https://en.www.inegi.org.mx/programas/ccpv/1930/#Tabular\\_data](https://en.www.inegi.org.mx/programas/ccpv/1930/#Tabular_data)>;  
<[https://en.www.inegi.org.mx/programas/ccpv/1940/#Tabular\\_data](https://en.www.inegi.org.mx/programas/ccpv/1940/#Tabular_data)>

Figure 8: *The Santa Fe Trail and the Chihuahua Trail in the 1830s*. Franck, Franck, Irene M., and David M. Brownstone, *The Santa Fe Trail and the Chihuahua Trail in the 1830s – Mapping Globalization*

<<https://commons.princeton.edu/mg/the-santa-fe-trail-and-the-chihuahua-trail-in-the-1830s-2/>>

Figure 9: *Mormons in Chihuahua Colonies in 1912 and 1946*. Data developed by author from Whetten, Nathan L., *Rural Mexico* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), p. 157

Figure 10: *Legislation Restricting Priests in Chihuahua*. Data for this chart taken from Savarino Roggero. Franco, El *Conflicto Religioso en Chihuahua, 1918-1937* (Ciudad Juárez, México: El Colegio de Chihuahua, 2017), p. 159; Almada, Francisco R., *Diccionario Historia, Geografía, y Biografía Chihuahuenses* (Universidad de Chihuahua Departamento de Investigaciones Sociales Sección de Historia, 1968), pp. 30, 208-209, 437

Figure 11 *Proximate Total of Deaths Included in Thesis*. Data taken from Thesis

Figure 12: *Calculations of Amendments by Article and Decade 1920-1959*. Data taken from Texto original de la Constitución de 1917 y de las reformas publicadas en el Diario Oficial de la Federación del 5 de febrero de 1917 al 1o. de junio de 2009. La compilación. Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas. [www.juridicas.unam.mx](http://www.juridicas.unam.mx)

Figure 13: *Letter from Casas Grandes Mormons to Regional Ejido Office*. Anonymous source at provider's request

Figure 14: *Mormon Water Hoarding Protest Nuevo Casas Grandes April 7, 1938*. Photo by Soto Camera Company, Nuevo Casas Grandes, Chihuahua April 7, 1938. AHA, Aprovechamientos Superficiales, C. 337, exp. 7210

Figure 15: *Plan de Cerro Gordo*. *Plan de Cerro Gordo*, Special Collections Online Exhibits. University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ (UASC) <https://speccoll.library.arizona.edu/online-exhibits/items/show/84>

Figure 16: *General Ibarra During the Cristero War - Seated Right*. Cristeros en Jalisco sentados, De la Torre Family Papers Collection, Special Collections Online Exhibits (UASC). University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ <https://speccoll.library.arizona.edu/online-exhibits/exhibits/show/delatorre/item/104>

Figure 17: *Ordenado y Ordenante in Hidden Seminary*. Ordenado y Ordenante, De la Torre Family Papers Collection, Special Collections Online Exhibits (UASC). University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ <https://speccoll.library.arizona.edu/online-exhibits/items/show/207>

Figure 18: *Telegram to President Cárdenas about Mormon Water Use*. Muñoz de Flores, Archivo Historica del Estado de Chihuahua, Caja 2; Expediente 19

Figure 19: *Monument to Agrarian Martyrs at Municipal Building in Peña Blanca, Chihuahua*. Photo by the author

### **Tables in External Sources Quoted in Thesis**

Simpson, Eyer N., *The Ejido: Mexico's Way Out: Table 11 - Utilization of Land by States, 1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937)

— *The Ejido: Mexico's Way Out: Table 13 - Crop Land Actual and Potential Compared With All Other Types of Land, by States, 1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937)

— *The Ejido: Mexico's Way Out: Table 4 - Density of Total Population With Respect to Total Area Compared With Density of Economically Active Population with Respect to Agricultural Land* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937)

— *The Ejido: Mexico's Way Out: Table 81 - Value of Principal Crops Produced in Ejidos . Compared with Privately-Owned Farms, by States 1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937)

### **Maps**

Franck, Irene M., and David M. Brownstone, *The Santa Fe Trail and the Chihuahua Trail in the 1830s – Mapping*

*Globalization* <<https://commons.princeton.edu/mg/the-santa-fe-trail-and-the-chihuahua-trail-in-the-1830s-2/>>

Geographicus Rare Antique Maps, Wit, *Frederik de (1629-1706)*

<[https://www.geographicus.com/P/ctgy&Category\\_Code=dewit](https://www.geographicus.com/P/ctgy&Category_Code=dewit)>

### **Newspapers**

10 Muertos en Duro Combate, 'Federales y agraristas entablan encarnizada refriega en Chihuahua', *La Crónica de*

*Chihuahua*, 15 July 1932, p. 1 <<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn81004351/1932-07-15/ed-1/seq-1/>>

'2 Mexican States act to Bar Priests: Colima Expels Catholic Clergy and Chihuahua Forbids Them to Officiate', *New*

*York Times*, 25 October 1934 <<https://www.nytimes.com/1934/10/26/archives/2-mexican-states-act-to-bar-priests-colima-expels-catholic-clergy.html?searchResultPosition=1>>

2 Slain, 34 Wounded in Clash in Mexico, 'Political Rivals in Juarez Use Sabers, Pistols, Clubs and Stones in Street Battle', *The New York Times*, 31 October 1935, p. 15

<<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1935/10/21/issue.html?login=email&auth=login-email>> 0]

6 Muertos al Ser Disueltos a Tiros 2 Mitines Catolicos, 'En Camargo las tropas federales entablaron un combate; varios heridos', *La Opinión - Los Angeles, California*, 4 May 1936

<<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn81004351/1936-05-04/ed-1/seq-1/>>

'Agrarians, Army Clash; 10 Killed', *The Brownsville Herald*, 14 July 1932, p. 1

<<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86063730/1932-07-14/ed-2/seq-1/>>

'Agrarians in Juárez Fight Ortiz: Offer Opposition Candidate for Mayor to Governor's Choice in Mass Meeting', *El Paso Times*, 7 September 1931, p. 1 <<https://www.newspapers.com/image/429193314>>

'Agrarians Killed in Chihuahua: State's Congressmen Deny Their Fight on Ortiz Caused by Gambling Troops Resisted Charge Governor Resorting to Violence in Attempt to Disarm Bands', *El Paso Times*, 5 September 1931, p. 1

<<https://www.newspapers.com/image/429190655>>

'Agraristas de Chihuahua Acusados de Rebelión: Varios Fueron Capturados, Se Informo Ayer', *La Opinión - Los Angeles, California*, 12 September 1931, p. 7 <[https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn81004351/1931-09-12/ed-1/seq-](https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn81004351/1931-09-12/ed-1/seq-7/#date1=09%2F09%2F1931&index=0&rows=20&searchType=advanced&language=&sequence=0&words=Agraristas+agraristas&proxdistance=5&date2=09%2F16%2F1931&ortext=Agraristas&proxtext=&phrasertext=&andtext=&dateFilterType=range&page=1)

[7/#date1=09%2F09%2F1931&index=0&rows=20&searchType=advanced&language=&sequence=0&words=Agraristas+agraristas&proxdistance=5&date2=09%2F16%2F1931&ortext=Agraristas&proxtext=&phrasertext=&andtext=&dateFilterType=range&page=1](https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn81004351/1931-09-12/ed-1/seq-7/#date1=09%2F09%2F1931&index=0&rows=20&searchType=advanced&language=&sequence=0&words=Agraristas+agraristas&proxdistance=5&date2=09%2F16%2F1931&ortext=Agraristas&proxtext=&phrasertext=&andtext=&dateFilterType=range&page=1)>

'Alcalde Linchado en Chihuahua', *La Opinión - Los Angeles, California*, 8 January 1935, p. 1

<<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn81004351/1935-01-08/ed-1/seq-1/>>

'Andres Ortiz Elected Chihuahua Governor: Two Die in Clashes at Juarez in Election of Government Party Candidate', *New York Times*, 22 July 1930

Battles with Rebels Continue, *The Brownsville Herald*, 6 November 1935, p. 2

<<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86063730/1935-11-06/ed-2/seq-2/>> [accessed 29 November 1935]

'Calles Urges Change in Agrarian Policy: Former Mexican President Says Methods So Far Have Failed—Would Cut Land Distribution', *New York Times*, 24 June 1930, p. 6

<<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1930/06/24/96160620.html?pageNumber=6>>

'Charge Head of Agrarians with Revolt: Leaders of Farmers Reply They're Loyal to Government Governor under Fire Ranchers Opposing Official Say Attempts Made to Kill Them', *El Paso Herald-Post*, 10 September 1931, p. 1

<<https://www.newspapers.com/image/796552395>>

'Chihuahua Curbs Church: Legislature Permits Only One Priest in Mexican State', *New York Times*, 25 April 1936  
Churches are Fired On, 'Archbishop is Freed After Fine Levied: Catholic Killed, Three Others Wounded in Gun Battle with Troops', *The Brownsville Herald*, 10 March 1935, p. 1

<<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86063730/1935-03-10/ed-1/seq-1/>>

Cinco Templos Balaceados en Parral, Chih., '1 muerto y 3 heridos al hacer tenaz resistencia los católicos', *La Opinión - Los Angeles, California*, 9 March 1935, p. 8 <<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn81004351/1935-03-10/ed-1/seq-8/>>

'Cops Reported Killed', *The Brownsville Herald*, October 13 and 14, 1931, pp. 2 and 8

<<<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86063730/1931-10-14/ed-1/seq-8/>>>

Deseret News, 2 Listed Fair in Shooting (Salt Lake City Utah, 2022)

<[https://www.familysearch.org/photos/artifacts/148497866?p=45193581&returnLabel=Albert%20Kay%20Whetten%20\(KWJV-RDX\)&returnUrl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.familysearch.org%2Ftree%2Fperson%2Fmemories%2FKWJV-RDX](https://www.familysearch.org/photos/artifacts/148497866?p=45193581&returnLabel=Albert%20Kay%20Whetten%20(KWJV-RDX)&returnUrl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.familysearch.org%2Ftree%2Fperson%2Fmemories%2FKWJV-RDX)>  
[accessed 13 June 2023]

Diaz Troops Quit Guerrero, *The New York Times*, 5 February 1911, p. 2

<<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1911/02/05/issue.html>>

Discontent Described as very Serious, *The Brownsville Herald*, 6 November 1936, p. 2

<<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86063730/1935-11-06/ed-2/seq-2/>> [accessed 21 August 2023]

Distribución de las Aguas en Tres Ríos, 'Un problema que resolverá en Chihuahua el gobierno federal', *La Opinión - Los Angeles, California*, 3 May 1932, p. 5

<[https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/data/batches/curiv\\_vinemaple\\_ver01/data/sn81004351/00414189192/1932050301/0445.pdf](https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/data/batches/curiv_vinemaple_ver01/data/sn81004351/00414189192/1932050301/0445.pdf)>

Familia Muerta en Forma Brutal, *La Opinión - Los Angeles, California*, 24 March 1940, p. 6

<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn81004351/1940-03-24/ed-1/seq-4/>

Fue Nulo el Levantamiento en Chihuahua, 'El Movimiento No Tuvo Jefes ni Partidarios: A unos cuantos que se levantaron, se les están dando garantías', *La Opinión - Los Angeles, California*, 28 September 1940, p. 2

[<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn81004351/1940-09-28/ed-1/seq-2/>](https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn81004351/1940-09-28/ed-1/seq-2/)

Han Prohibido Portar Armas en Chihuahua, 'La orden fue girada como resultado de los últimos motines agraristas', *La Opinión - Los Angeles, California*, 18 July 1932, p. 2 <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn81004351/1932-07-18/ed-1/seq-2/>

La ARM hará Gran Marcha sobre Mexico, 'Se efectuará la que proyectó su extinto jefe, Rodríguez', *La Opinión - Los Angeles, California*, 10 October 1940, p. 8 [<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn81004351/1940-10-10/ed-1/seq-8/>](https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn81004351/1940-10-10/ed-1/seq-8/)

Llegan 12 Aviones a Sonora para Combatir la Rebelión, 'Que no tiene Importancia la Rebelión; Ahogaran el Movimiento con Rapidez: Salen Fuerzas de Chihuahua', *La Opinión - Los Angeles, California*, 13 October 1935, pp. 1, 8 <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn81004351/1935-10-18/ed-1/seq-1/>

Mayor Killed by Bomb, *The New York Times*, 3 April 1938, p. 33

<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1938/04/03/96809004.html?pageNumber=1> > [accessed 30 July 2020]

Mexican Catholics' Enemy is Lynched, *Washington Times*, 7 January 1935, p. 1

[<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84026749/1935-01-07/ed-1/seq-1/>](https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84026749/1935-01-07/ed-1/seq-1/)

'Mexican Chiefs Escape Bullets', *The Brownsville Herald*, 11 September 1931, p. 12

[<<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86063730/1931-09-11/ed-1/seq-12/>>](https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86063730/1931-09-11/ed-1/seq-12/)

'Mexican Court Eases Church Law, and Bars Arbitrary Quotas for Priests', 'Catholics Hail Ruling of Supreme Tribunal in Test of Chihuahua Statute by Three Priests Accused of Interference-Repeal of Similar Acts in Other States Seen', *New York Times*, 6 May 1937, p. 1, 13

'Mexican Officer Kills Relative: Ten Slain in Clash that Follows', *New York Times*, 15 July 1932

'Mexican State Senator Slain', *The New York Times*, 13 March 1938

'Mexicans Patrol Big Hearst Ranch', *The Post-Press*, 16 April 1939, p. 1

<[https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/data/batches/curiv\\_roseheath\\_ver01/data/sn92070146/00414188862/1939041601/0823.pdf](https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/data/batches/curiv_roseheath_ver01/data/sn92070146/00414188862/1939041601/0823.pdf)>

'Mexico Backs Governor: Federal Investigator Says Almada is Legal Executive of Chihuahua', *New York Times*, 29 June 1930

Mexico City Hears Uprising is Quelled, 'Few Remaining Rebels Said to be in Dire Straits', *New York Times*, 22 September 1940, p. 30

<<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1940/09/22/113105193.html?pageNumber=30>>  
[accessed 18 July 2020]

Mexico Daily Post, *Lipan Tribe: the Mexican Apaches that do not Appear in Textbooks* (2022)

<<https://mexicodailypost.com/2022/10/21/lipan-tribe-the-mexican-apaches-that-do-not-appear-in-textbooks/>>

Mexico Hurries Troops to Crush Revolt, 'New Raids Terrify Sonora: War Minister Leaves for North to Take Charge of Drive', *Washington Times*, 16 October 1935, p. 1

<<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84026749/1935-10-16/ed-1/seq-1/>>

'Mexico Paper Raps Entrance of Foreigners: Declares Alien Colonization Signifies Ruin of Native Farmer', *El Paso Herald-Post*, 7 October 1931, p. 2 <<https://www.newspapers.com/image/796481370>>

'Mexico Troops Hunt Slayers: Charge San Ignacio Agrarians with Fatal Shooting', *El Paso Herald-Post*, 13 October 1931, p. 2 <<https://www.newspapers.com/image/796481452>>

Mexico's Church Conflict Spreads, 'Catholics in Coahuila and Chihuahua Demand Punishment of Slayer', *The Sunday Star*, 21 February 1937, B-5 <<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1937-02-21/ed-1/seq-25/>>

Mormon Agrarians, *A Letter Appealing for Agrarian Allotment of Land*, 27 February 1931, ACECG – Archivo Comisario Ejidal de Casas Grandes

Mosaicos, 'En Chihuahua ha resurgido la santa hermandad', *La Opinión - Los Angeles, California*, 22 July 1932, p. 7 <<<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn81004351/1932-07-22/ed-1/seq-7/>>>

Notas de C. Juárez, Chih., 'Se Fundo el "Sinarquismo"', *La Opinión - Los Angeles, California*, 14 November 1937, p. 2 <<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn81004351/1937-11-14/ed-1/seq-2/>>



'Otra Acusacion a Los Agraristas', *La Opinión - Los Angeles, California*, 9 September 1931, p. 8

<<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn81004351/1931-09-09/ed-1/seq-8/#date1=09%2F09%2F1931&index=3&date2=09%2F16%2F1931&searchType=advanced&language=&sequence=0&words=AGRARISTAS&proxdistance=5&rows=20&ortext=Agraristas&proxtext=&phrasertext=&andtext=&dateFilterType=range&page=1>>

'Queja Contra El Gobernador Ortiz', *La Opinión - Los Angeles, California*, 10 September 1931, p. 4

<<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn81004351/1931-09-10/ed-1/seq-4/#date1=09%2F09%2F1931&index=1&date2=09%2F16%2F1931&searchType=advanced&language=&sequence=0&words=agraristas&proxdistance=5&rows=20&ortext=Agraristas&proxtext=&phrasertext=&andtext=&dateFilterType=range&page=1>>

'Salt Lake Officials Puzzled', *New York Times*, 26 November 1934

'Se Cancelan Permisos a Sacerdotes', *El Heraldo de Brownsville*, 22 November 1934, p. 1

'Se Registran Los Menonitas', *La Opinión - Los Angeles, California*, 14 July 1932, p. 2

<<<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn81004351/1932-07-14/ed-1/seq-2/>>>

Shootings Follow Political Unrest, 'Two Claim Governorship of Mexican State While Adherents Fight', *Evening Star*,

26 June 1930, p. C-7 <<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1930-06-26/ed-1/seq-37/#date1=06%2F25%2F1930&index=0&date2=06%2F30%2F1930&searchType=advanced&language=&sequence=0&words=Almada&proxdistance=5&rows=20&ortext=Almada&proxtext=&phrasertext=&andtext=&dateFilterType=range&page=1>> [accessed 14 July 1930]

'Southwest News Items', *The Coolidge Examiner*, 20 February 1931, p. 1

<<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn94050542/1931-02-20/ed-1/seq-2/>>

'Three Killed in Mexico as Catholics Parade: Two Soldiers and a Marcher are Slain in Clash - in the State of Chihuahua—One Wounded', *New York Times*, 5 May 1936

'Three Mexicans Die in Police Clash', *The New York Times*, 25 March 1940

Troops Sent to Mexican Village, *Imperial Valley Press*, 14 July 1932, p. 7

<<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn92070146/1932-07-14/ed-1/seq-7/>>

Un Cuartelazo en Chihuahua, 'Almada fue Depuesto; 3 Diputados Muertos: Combate en El Palacio de Gobierno', *La Opinión - Los Angeles, California*, 26 June 1930, pp. 1-4

<<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn81004351/1930-06-26/ed-1/seq-1/>>

Un Decreto de Fierro Entro en Vigor Ya, 'Son cambiados los nombres de santos en calles y poblaciones', *La Opinión - Los Angeles, California*, 14 July 1932, p. 2 <<<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn81004351/1932-07-14/ed-1/seq-2/>>>

Un Vaquero Mexicano Muerto en Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, Mex., *El Tucsonense*, 21 April 1927, p. 1

<<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn95060694/1927-04-21/ed-1/seq-1/>>

### **Secondary Sources**

#### **Monographs**

Aboites Aguilar, Luis, *Breve historia de Chihuahua* (México: El Colegio de México Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1994)

——— *Norte precario: Poblamiento y colonización en México (1760-1940)* (México D.F.: El Colegio de México, 1995)

Acuña, Rodolfo, *Corridors of Migration: The odyssey of Mexican laborers, 1600–1933* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007)

Adelman, Jeremy, *Colonial Legacies: The Problem of Persistence in Latin American History* (Routledge, 1999)

Aguilar Camín, Héctor, and Lorenzo Meyer, *In the Shadow of the Mexican Revolution: Contemporary Mexican History, 1910-1989* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993)

Alanís Enciso, Fernando S., Russ Davidson, and Mark Overmyer-Velázquez, *They Should Stay There: The Story of Mexican Migration and Repatriation during the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017)

Almada, Francisco R., *Diccionario Historia, Geografía, y Biografía Chihuahuenses* (Universidad de Chihuahua Departamento de Investigaciones Sociales Sección de Historia, 1968)

——— *Gobernadores del estado de Chihuahua* (la H. Cámara de Diputados, 1950)

——— *La rebelión de Tomóchi* (Ciudad Chihuahua: Talleres Gráficos del Gobierno del Estado, 1938)

- Alonso, Ana M., *Thread of Blood: Colonialism, Revolution, and Gender on Mexico's Northern Frontier* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1995)
- Andes, Stephen J. C., *The Vatican and Catholic Activism in Mexico and Chile: The Politics of Transnational Catholicism, 1920-1940*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014)
- Bailey, David C., *¡Viva Cristo Rey! The Cristero Rebellion and the Church-State Conflict in Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1974)
- Balderrama, Francisco E., and Raymond Rodriguez, *Decade of Betrayal: Mexican Repatriation in the 1930s* (Albuquerque, N.M.: University of New Mexico Press, 2006)
- Baldwin, Deborah J., *Protestants and the Mexican Revolution: Missionaries, Ministers, and Social Change* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990)
- Bantjes, Adrian A., *As if Jesus Walked on Earth: Cardenismo, Sonora, and the Mexican Revolution*, Latin American silhouettes (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1998)
- Barquín y Ruiz, Andrés, *José María González Valencia, Arzobispo de Durango* (México: Editorial Jus., 1967)
- Bastian, Jean-Pierre, *Protestantismo y sociedad en México* (México D.F. México: CUPSA, 1983)
- Baubérot, Jean, *Laïcité 1905-2005, entre passion et raison, La couleur des idées* (Paris: Seuil, 2004)
- Beevor, Antony, *The Battle for Spain: The Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939* (New York: Penguin Books, 2006)
- Benítez, Fernando, *Lázaro Cárdenas y la Revolución Mexicana: El Cardenismo*, III (México: Biblioteca Joven, 1984)
- Bennion, Janet, *Desert Patriarchy: Mormon and Mennonite Communities in the Chihuahua Valley* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2004)
- Blyth, Lance R., *Chiricahua and Janos: Communities of Violence in the Southwestern Borderlands, 1680-1880*, Borderlands and transcultural studies (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012)
- Bowen, Kurt, *Evangelism and Apostasy: The Evolution and Impact of Evangelicals in Modern Mexico*, McGill-Queen's studies in the history of religion, 23 (Montreal Que.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996)
- Boyer, Alain, *La loi de 1905: Hier, aujourd'hui, demain*, Convictions et sociétés (Lyon: Olivétan, 2005)
- Boyer, Christopher R., *Becoming Campesinos: Politics, Identity, and Agrarian Struggle in Postrevolutionary Michoacán, 1920-1935* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2003)
- Broers, Michael, *The Napoleonic Mediterranean: Enlightenment, revolution and empire*, International library of historical studies (London: I.B. Tauris, 2017)

- Buchenau, Jürgen, *Plutarco Elías Calles and the Mexican Revolution* (Lanham Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007)
- , and William Beezley, eds., *State Governors in the Mexican Revolution, 1910-1952* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009)
- , *The Sonoran Dynasty in Mexico: Revolution, Reform, and Repression* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2023)
- Campbell, C. E., *Mines, Cattle, and Rebellion: The History of the Corralitos Ranch, with an Intimate Portrait of the Mexican Revolution* (Sunset Beach CA: Green Street Publications, 2014)
- Castro Martínez, Pedro F., *Álvaro Obregón: Fuego y cenizas de la revolución mexicana*, (México, D.F.: Ediciones Era Dirección General de Publicaciones, 2009)
- Chateaubriand, Francois René de, Itinéraire de Paris a Jérusalem, Guy Barthélemy, 'L'Orient par l'oreille', Colloque sur Chateaubriand, 9 December 2006, études-romantiques.ish-lyon.cnrs.fr, p. 4
- Chavira Becerra, Carlos, *Atras Quedo la Huella* (México D.F.: E.P.E.S.S.A, 1983)
- Chesnut, R. A., *Devoted to death: Santa Muerte, the Skeleton Saint* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018)
- Contreras Orozco, Javier, *El mártir de Chihuahua: historia de una persecución*, 2nd edn (Chihuahua, México: J.H. Contreras Orozco, 2012)
- Corbin, Alain, *A History of Silence: from the Renaissance to the Present Day* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2018), p. 22.
- , *Village Bells: Sound & Meaning in the 19<sup>th</sup>-Century French Countryside* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998)
- Crespo, Carolina, Flora Losada, and Alicia Martín, *Patrimonio, políticas culturales y participación ciudadana*, 1st edn (Buenos Aires: Editorial Antropofagia, 2007)
- Day, James M. (ed.), *Morris B. Parker's Mules, Mines & Me in Mexico 1895-1932* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1979)
- Del Rivero Val, Luis, *Entre las patas de los caballos* (México, 1952)
- Diccionario de Generales de la Revolución: Tomo II M-Z* (México: Instituto Nacional de Estudios Históricos de las Revoluciones de México, 2014)
- Dormady, Jason, *Primitive Revolution: Restorationist Religion and the Idea of the Mexican Revolution, 1940-1968* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2011)
- Duarte Morales, Teodosio, *El rugir del cañón* (Ciudad Juárez: Ed. B Herrera, 1968)

- Dulles, John W. F., *Yesterday in Mexico: A Chronicle of the Revolution, 1919–1936* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1961)
- Dwyer, John, *The Agrarian Dispute: The Expropriation of American-Owned Rural Land in Postrevolutionary Mexico* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2008).
- Eley, Geoff, *A Crooked Line: From Cultural History to the History of Society* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005)
- Eliade, Mircea, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* (Orlando, FL: A Harvest Book - Harcourt, Inc, 1987)
- Epp, Frank, *Mennonites in Canada 1920-1940: A People's Struggle for Survival* (Scottsdale, PA.: Herald Press, 1982)
- Erasmus, Charles J., Solomon Miller, and Louis C. Faron, *Contemporary Change in Traditional Communities of Mexico and Peru, Contemporary Change in Traditional Societies, III* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1978)
- Evans, Richard J., *In Defense of History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2000)
- Falcón, Romana, and Raymond Buve, *Don Porfirio presidente: Hallazgos, reflexiones y debates. 1876-1911* (México: Universidad Iberoamericana, 1998)
- Fallow, Ben, *Religion and State Formation in Postrevolutionary Mexico* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013)
- Ferry, Elizabeth E., *Not Ours Alone: Patrimony, Value, and Collectivity in Contemporary Mexico* (New York, N.Y., Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2005)
- Flores Olague, Elizabeth D. C., and Jean Meyer, *Cristero, hombre de liberación: Memoria y raigambre identitaria en Cristóbal Acevedo Martínez, Historia* (Jalisco, Guadalajara: Editorial Universidad de Guadalajara, 2017)
- Fortescue, William, *The Third Republic in France, 1870-1940: Conflicts and Continuities*, Routledge sources in history (London: Routledge, 2000)
- Fox, Frank W., J. *Reuben Clark: The Public Years* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1980)
- Fretz, Joseph, *Mennonite Colonization in Mexico: An Introduction* (Akron, PA: The Mennonite Central Committee (MCC), 1945)
- Galeano, Eduardo, *Century of the Wind: Memory of Fire, Vol. 3* (New York, N.Y.: Nation Books, 2010)
- Gamio, Manuel, *Forjando Patria: Pro Nacionalismo* (México: Librería de Porrúa Hermanos, 1916)
- García Morales, Soledad, *La rebelión delahuertista en Veracruz (1923)* (Xalapa: Universidad Veracruzana, 1986)

- García Pérez, Marco A., *El Plan de Ayutla: Norma Fundamental del Constitucionalismo Liberal*, VI Jornadas de Estudios sobre la Guerra de Reforma, Intervención Francesa y Segundo Imperio. A 160 años de las Leyes de Reforma At: Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas, UNAM (México D.F., 2019)
- Garro, Elena, *Recollections of Things to Come*, The Texan Pan American series (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986)
- González Navarro, Moisés, *El pensamiento político de Lucas Alamán* (México d.f.: El Colegio de México Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1952)
- González Obregón, Luis, *Las calles de México: Leyendas y sucesidos, vida y costumbres de otros tiempos*, Sepan cuantos 568, 14th edn (México: Porrúa, 2009)
- González y González, Luis, 'El arte de la microhistoria', *Invitación a la microhistoria* (1973), 8–53  
 ——— *Pueblo en Vilo: Microhistoria de San José de Gracia* (México D.F.: El Colegio de México, 1968)
- Goodwin, Grenville, and Goodwin Neil, *The Apache Diaries A Father-Son Journey* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000)
- Goodwin, Grenville, and Neil Goodwin, *The Apache diaries: A father-son journey* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000)
- Gottschalk, Louis R., *Understanding History: A Primer of Historical Method*, 2nd edn (New York: Knopf, 1969)
- Goytortúa, Jesús, *Pensativa*, 24th edn (México: Editorial Porrúa, 2002)
- Greenberg, James B., *Blood Ties: Life and Violence in Rural Mexico* (Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1989)
- Griffith, James S., *Beliefs and Holy Places: A Spiritual Geography of the Pimería Alta* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1992)
- Gutiérrez Chávez, Beatriz, *En Chihuahua Inició y Triunfó la Revolución: Y una Conspiración en Casas Grandes* (Ciudad Chihuahua, Chihuahua, 2022)
- Halbwachs, Maurice, and Lewis A. Coser, *On Collective Memory*, Heritage of Sociology Series (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020)
- Hamilton, Nora, *The Limits of State Autonomy: Post-Revolutionary Mexico* (Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982)

- Hartley, William G., and Lorna Call Alder, *Anson Bowen Call: Bishop of Colonia Dublán* (Provo, Utah: Lorna Call Alder, 2007)
- Henson, Elizabeth, *Agrarian Revolt in the Sierra of Chihuahua, 1959-1965* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2019)
- Hernández, José A., *Mexican American Colonization during the Nineteenth Century: A history of the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012)
- Hobsbawm, Eric J., *Age of Extremes: A History of the World, 1914-1991* (New York: Vintage Books a Division of Random House, 1994)
- Ingstad, Helge, *The Apache Indians: In search of the Missing Tribe* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2004)  
 ——— *The Apache Indians: In search of the Missing Tribe* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004 (Original Norwegian Version Published in 1945))
- Janzen, Rebecca, *Liminal Sovereignty: Mennonites and Mormons in Mexican culture* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2018)
- Johnson, Annie R., *Heartbeats of Colonia Diaz* (Mesa, AZ: Publishers Press (Printer), 1972)
- Johnson, Grace, *From Paquimé to Mata Ortiz* (San Diego, CA: San Diego Museum of Man, 2001)
- Johnson, John J., *The military and society in Latin America* (Stanford: Univ. Press, 1979)
- José, Georgette, 'La Rebelión Delahuertista', in *2020 – El Ejército Mexicano: 100 años de historia*, ed. by Garcíadiego Dantan (2020), pp. 213–70
- Joseph, Gilbert M.; Anne Rubenstein, and Eric Zolov, *Fragments of a Golden Age: The politics of culture in Mexico since 1940, American encounters/global interactions* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001)
- Joseph, Gilbert M. and Daniel Nugent, eds., *Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994)
- Joyner, Charles W., *Shared Traditions: Southern history and folk culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999)
- Kalyvas, Stathis N., *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*, Cambridge studies in comparative politics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)
- Katz, Friedrich, *The Life and Times of Pancho Villa* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998)
- Keane, John B., *The Field* (Cork: Mercier Press, 1991)

- Kelly, Francis, *Blood-Drenched Altars: A Catholic Commentary on the History of Mexico* (Dublin (original edition): TAN Books, 1989 (Reprint of 1935 original edition))
- Klid, Bohdan, and Alexander J. Motyl, *The Holodomor reader: A sourcebook on the Famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine* (Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 2012)
- Kuntz Ficker, Sandra, 'La Minería', in *Las exportaciones mexicanas durante la primera globalización, 1870-1929*, ed. by Sandra Kuntz Ficker, 1st edn (México DF: El Colegio de México Centro de Estudios Históricos, 2010), 163–236
- Lannon, Frances, *Privilege, persecution and prophecy: The Catholic Church in Spain, 1875-1975* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987)
- Lawrence, Mark, *Insurgency, counter-insurgency and policing in centre-west Mexico, 1926-1929: Fighting Cristeros* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020)
- Lear, John, *Picturing the Proletariat: Artists and labor in revolutionary Mexico, 1908/1940*, Joe R. and Teresa Lozano long series in Latin American and Latino art and culture (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2017)
- Lee, Bandy X., *Violence: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Causes, Consequences, and Cures* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2019)
- Levi, Giovanni, 'On Microhistory', in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. by Peter Burke (University Park Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 93–113
- Lister, Florence C., and Robert H. Lister, *Chihuahua Storehouse of Storms* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1966)
- Lloyd, Jane-Dale, *Cinco ensayos sobre cultura material de rancheros y medieros del noroeste de Chihuahua, 1886-1910* (México D.F.: Universidad Iberoamericana Departamento de Historia, 2001)
- *El Proceso de Modernización Capitalista en el Noroeste de Chihuahua (1880-1910)* (México: Universidad Iberoamericana, 1987)
- Lomnitz-Adler, Claudio, *Deep Mexico, Silent Mexico: An anthropology of nationalism*, Public worlds, v. 9 (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 2001)
- Machado, Manuel A., *Barbarians of the North: Modern Chihuahua and the Mexican Political System* (Austin, Tex.: Eakin Press, 1992)
- Manchukuo Collection, The* (Cambridge: Harvard-Yenching Library, 1900)



- Marak, Andrae M., *From Many, One: Indians, Peasants, Borders, and Education in Callista Mexico, 1924-1935*, Latin American and Caribbean series, 7 (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2009)
- Márquez Terrazas, Zacarías, *Misiones de Chihuahua: Siglos XVII y XVIII* (México d.f.: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y Las Artes, 2008)
- Martínez Álvarez, José A., Álvaro Obregón. *Máximo Caudillo de la Revolución Mexicana: Documentos: Tomo II* (La Piedad, Michoacán: La Atenas de América, 2022)
- *Cronología Documental del Conflicto Religioso: 1859-1993: Prisma Cristero*, Tomo II (La Piedad, Michoacán: Independently Published, 2000)
- Marwick, Arthur, *The New Nature of History: Knowledge, Evidence, Language* (Chicago: Lyceum Books, 2001)
- Mason Hart, John, *Empire and Revolution: The Americans in Mexico since the Civil War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002)
- Masten Dunne, Peter, *Early Jesuit Missions in Tarahumara* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1948)
- Mecham, J. L., *Church and State in Latin America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1966)
- Meyer, Jean, *Cristero Rebellion The: The Mexican People between Church and States 1926-1929* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)
- , *El sinarquismo, el cardenismo y la Iglesia (1937-1947)*, Tiempo de memoria (México, D.F.: Tusquets, 2003)
- , *La Cristiada 1 – la guerra de los cristeros* (Madrid: siglo xxi editores, 1994)
- , *La Cristiada 2 - el conflicto entre la iglesia y el estado 1926-1929* (México d.f.: siglo xxi editores, 1994)
- Meyer, Lorenzo, *Las raíces del nacionalismo petrolero en México*, Tiempo de México, 3rd edn (México, D.F.: Océano, 2009)
- Meyer, Michael C., *Huerta: A Political Portrait* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 1972)
- , *Mexican Rebel: Pascual Orozco and the Mexican Revolution, 1910-1915* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967)
- Morril, Julian L., *The Devil in Mexico* (Chicago: M. A. Donahue, 1917)
- Morris, Nathaniel, *Soldiers, Saints, and Shamans: Indigenous Communities and the Revolutionary State in Mexico's Gran Nayar, 1910-1940* (Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 2022)

- Niemeyer, E. V., *Revolution at Querétaro: The Mexican Constitutional Convention of 1916-1917*, Latin American monographs, no. 33 (Austin: Published for the Institute of Latin American Studies by the University of Texas Press, 1974)
- Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2015)
- Novick, Peter, *That Noble Dream: The "objectivity question" and the American historical profession*, Ideas in context (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988)
- Nowicki, Stephen, *Choice or Chance: Understanding Your Locus of Control and Why It Matters* (Amherst, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 2016)
- Nugent, Daniel, *Spent Cartridges of Revolution: An Anthropological History of Námiquipa, Chihuahua* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993)
- O'Connor, Richard D., and Walter P. Parks, *They Called it Pearson: The History of Mata Ortiz and the Casas Grandes Valley* (San Diego and Riverside, CA: Parks O'Connor Publishing, 2023)
- Olcott, Jocelyn, Mary K. Vaughan, and Gabriela Cano, *Sex in Revolution: Gender, Politics, and Power in Modern Mexico* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006)
- Olcott, Jocelyn, *Revolutionary Women in Postrevolutionary Mexico* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2005)
- Olivera Sedano, Alicia, *Aspectos del Conflicto Religioso de 1926 a 1929: Sus Antecedentes y Consecuencias* (México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1966)
- O'Rourke, Gerald, *Antonio Guízar y Valencia: Perfil de un arzobispo* (Ciudad Chihuahua: Editorial Camino, 2006)
- *La Persecución Religiosa en Chihuahua: 1913-1938* (Ciudad Chihuahua: Editorial Camino, 1991)
- *Martirio del Padre Pedro de Jesús Maldonado Lucero* (Mexico-Chihuahua: Editorial Basilio Nunez-Libreria El Sembrador, 2000)
- Oseguera, André, and Rodríguez López, *Pluralismo y Religión en Chihuahua Estudios Sobre el Conflicto Religioso* (México D.F.: Secretaría de Cultura Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2016)
- Ozouf, Mona, *Festivals and the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991)
- Palomares Peña, Noé G., *Propietarios norteamericanos y reforma agraria en Chihuahua: 1917-1942*, Colección Estudios regionales, 5 (Ciudad Juárez: Universidad Autónoma de Cd Juárez, 1991)
- Parsons, Wilfrid, S.J., *Mexican Martyrdom* (Rockford, Illinois: Tan Books and Publishers, 1936)

- Payne, Stanley G., *La Europa revolucionaria: Las guerras civiles que marcaron el siglo XX*, Historia (Barcelona: Espasa, 2012)
- *Spanish Civil War, the Soviet Union, and Communism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004)
- *The Spanish Civil War*, Cambridge essential histories (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012)
- Pérez Martínez, M. S., *Agostaderos y ganado, tradición y patrimonio de Chihuahua: 80 años de historia 1936-2016* ([Chihuahua], San Antonio Tlayacapan, Chapala, Jalisco: Unión Ganadera Regional de Chihuahua, UGRCH; Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia; Amaroma Ediciones, 2016)
- Pérez Memén, Fernando, *El episcopado y la Independencia de México (1810-1836)* (Ciudad de México: El Colegio de México, 2014)
- Poniatowska, Elena, *Massacre in Mexico* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991)
- Pulido, Elisa E., *The Spiritual Evolution of Margarito Bautista: Mexican Mormon Evangelizer, Polygamist Dissident, and Utopian Founder, 1878-1961* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020)
- *The Third Convention, April 21, 1936* (2020)
- Purnell, Jennie, *Popular movements and state formation in revolutionary Mexico: The agraristas and cristeros of Michoacán* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1999)
- Quinn, Michael, *The New Mormon History: Revisionist Essays on the Past* (Salt Lake City Utah: Signature Books, 1992)
- Quirk, Robert, *The Mexican Revolution and the Catholic Church 1920–1929* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973)
- Ragsdale, Kenneth B., *Wings over the Mexican border: Pioneer Military Aviation in the Big Bend* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997)
- Rambo, Lewis R., and Charles E. Farhadian (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Religious Conversion*, Oxford Handbooks (2014; online edn, Oxford Academic, 1 May 2014),  
<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195338522.001.0001>
- Ramos González, José A., *El Silencio de las Campanas: Historia y anécdotas de la persecución religiosa en la villa Meoqui* (Las Vegas, NV, 2021)
- Rangel Silva, José A., and Hortensia Camacho Altamirano, *La propiedad rural en México en los siglos XIX y XX: Enfoques económicos y políticos*, Colección Investigaciones (San Luis Potosí, SLP: El Colegio de San Luis, 2012)

- Rath, Thomas G., *Myths of demilitarization in postrevolutionary Mexico, 1920-1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013)
- Redekop, Calvin W., *The Old Colony Mennonites: Dilemmas of Ethnic Minority Life* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1969)
- Reich, Peter L., *Mexico's Hidden Revolution: The Catholic Church in Law and Politics since 1929* (Notre Dame, Ind., London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995)
- Roca, Paul M., *Spanish Jesuit Churches in Mexico's Tarahumara* (Tucson, Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 1979)
- Rodríguez, Antonio, and Marina Corby, [*Der Mensch in Flammen.*] *A history of Mexican mural painting.* [Translation from Spanish and from German by Marina Corby.] (London: Thames & Hudson, 1969)
- Rodríguez O., Jaime E., *The Revolutionary Process in Mexico: Essays on Political and Social Change, 1880 - 1940*, UCLA Latin American studies series, 72 (Los Angeles, CA: Univ. of California Latin American Center, 1990)
- Romney, Thomas C., *The Mormon Colonies in Mexico* (Salt Lake City Utah: University of Utah Press, 1938 (2005))
- Ruiz, Jason, *Americans in the Treasure House: Travel to Porfirian Mexico and the Cultural Politics of Empire* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014)
- Sánchez-Walsh, Arlene M., *Latino Pentecostal Identity: Evangelical faith, self, and society*, Religion and American Culture (New York, Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2003)
- Santiago, Myrna I., *The ecology of oil: Environment, labor, and the Mexican Revolution, 1900-1938*, Studies in environment and history (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)
- Savarino Roggero. Franco, *El Conflicto Religioso en Chihuahua, 1918-1937* (Ciudad Juárez, México: El Colegio de Chihuahua, 2017)
- Sawatzky, Harold L., *They Sought a Country: Mennonite Colonization in Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971)
- Schmiedehaus, Walter, *Die Altkolonier-Mennoniten in Mexiko: Ein Kulturdokument über Herkunft und Dasein der Mennoniten-Kolonie in Mexiko* (Bad Kreuznach: Pandion, 1984)
- *Dios es Nuestra Fortaleza: Los Antiguos Colonos Menonitas en México* (Blumenort, CH Mexico: Museo y Centro Cultural Menonita, A.C., 2021)
- Schuler, Friedrich E., *Mexico between Hitler and Roosevelt: Mexican foreign relations in the age of Lázaro Cárdenas, 1934-1940*, 1st edn (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998)

- Secher, Reynald, *A French Genocide: The Vendée* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003)
- Sherman, John W., *The Mexican Right: The End of Revolutionary Reform* (Westport, RI: Praeger, 1997)
- Shippo, Jan, *Sojourner in the Promised Land: Forty years among the Mormons* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000)
- Silva Herzog, Jesús, *El agrarismo mexicano y la reforma agraria: exposición crítica* (México: fondo de cultura económica, 1985)
- Simpson, Eyer N., *The Ejido: Mexico's Way Out* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937)
- Simpson, Lesley B., *Many Mexicos*, 4th edn (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966)
- Sims, Harold, *The Expulsion of Mexico's Spaniards, 1821-1836*, Pitt Latin American Series (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1990)
- Smith, Benjamin T., *Pistoleros and Popular Movements: The Politics of State Formation in Postrevolutionary Oaxaca*, The Mexican experience (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009)
- Snyder, Timothy, *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin* (New York: Basic Books, 2010)
- Spicer, Edward H., *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960* (Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 2020)
- Spilsbury Hatch, Nelle, *Colonia Juarez: An Intimate Account of a Mormon Village* (Salt Lake City Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1954)
- , and B. Carmon Hardy, *Stalwarts South of the Border* (Ernestine Hatch, 1985)
- Stavans, Ilan, *José Vasconcelos: The Prophet of Race* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Press, 2011)
- Stover, Philip R., *The Search for the Soul of Mexico: Religion and Revolution*, Vol 1 (Deming, NM: Rio Vista Press, 2018)
- *The Search for the Soul of Mexico: The Anglo Quest for Naboth's Vineyard*, Vol 2 (Deming, NM: Rio Vista Press, 2018)
- Sweeney, Edwin R., *From Cochise to Geronimo: The Chiricahua Apaches, 1874-1886*, The civilization of the American Indian series, 268 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010)
- Taibo, Paco I., *'68: The Mexican Autumn of the Tlatelolco Massacre* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2019)
- Tannenbaum, Frank, *The Mexican Agrarian Revolution* (New York: Macmillan, 1929)
- Taracena, Alfonso, *La verdadera historia de la revolución Mexicana*, 20 vols. (México DF: Librería Porrúa, From 1960 to 1992)

- Thèriault, Serge, *Msgr. René Vilatte: community organizer of religion, 1854-1929* (Berkeley Calif: Apocryphile Press, 2012)
- Thomas, Hugh, *The Spanish Civil War*, Modern Library war (New York: Modern Library, 2001)
- Trueba Lara, José L., *Masones en México: Historia del poder oculto* (México d.f.: Random House Mondadori, 2007)
- Tullis, F. L., *Mormons in Mexico: The Dynamics of Faith and Culture* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1987)
- Tutino, John, *From Insurrection to Revolution in Mexico: Social Bases of Agrarian Violence, 1750-1940* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986)
- Urban, Hugh B., and Greg Johnson, *Irreverence and the sacred: Critical studies in the history of religions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019)
- Vaca, Agustín, *Los silencios de la historia: las cristeras* (Jalisco, Guadalajara: El Colegio de Jalisco, 2009)
- Vanderwood, Paul J., *The Power of God against the Guns of Government: Religious Upheaval in Mexico at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998)
- Vargas Valdés, Jesús, *Madera Rebelde: Movimiento agrario y guerrilla (1959-1965)* (Chihuahua, México: Ediciones Nueva Vizcaya, 2015)
- *Máximo Castillo and the Mexican Revolution*, Aliaga-Buchenau, Ana-Isabel, Translator (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2016)
- *Máximo Castillo y la revolución en Chihuahua*, Serie Chihuahua en la Revolución (Chihuahua, México: Biblioteca Chihuahuense, 2009)
- Vargas Valdez, Jesús, *Tomóchic: La Revolución Adelantada: Resistencia y lucha de un pueblo de Chihuahua con el sistema porfirista (1891-1892)*, Vol. I (Ciudad Juárez: Universidad Autónoma de Cd Juárez, 1994)
- Vasconcelos, José, *La Raza Cósmica: Misión de la raza iberoamericana* (Buenos Aires, 1948)
- Vaughan, Mary K., *Cultural Politics in Revolution: Teachers, Peasants, and Schools in Mexico, 1930-1940* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1997)
- and Lewis, Stephen E. eds., *The Eagle and the Virgin: Nation and Cultural Revolution in Mexico, 1920-1940*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006)
- Vázquez Parada, Lourdes C., *Identidad, cultura y religión en el sur de Jalisco*, 2nd edn (México: El Colegio de Jalisco, 1997)

- *La guerra cristera: Narrativa, testimonios y propaganda* (Jalisco, Guadalajara: Editorial Universidad de Guadalajara, 2020)
- *La guerra cristera: Narrativa, testimonios y propaganda* (Zapopan Jalisco: Universidad de Guadalajara, 2012)
- Villemain, Jacques, *Vendée 1793-1794: Crime de guerre? Crime contre l'humanité? Génocide? Une étude juridique* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2017)
- Wasserman, Mark, *Persistent Oligarchs: Elites and Politics in Chihuahua, Mexico, 1910-1940* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993)
- Weis, Robert, *For Christ and Country: Militant Catholic youth in post-revolutionary Mexico*, Cambridge Latin American studies, 115 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019)
- Welsome, Eileen, *The General and the Jaguar: Pershing's hunt for Pancho Villa a true story of revolution and revenge*, 1st edn (New York: Little Brown and Co, 2006)
- Wheeler, Reginald W., Dwight H. Day, and James B. Rodgers, *Modern Missions in Mexico* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1925)
- Whetten, Nathan L., *Rural Mexico* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948)
- Winter, Jay, 'Thinking about Silence', in *Shadows of War: A social history of silence in the twentieth century*, ed. by Efrat Ben-Ze'ev, Ruth Ginio and J. M. Winter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 3–31
- Wolf, Eric R., *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999)
- Young, Glennys, *Power and the Sacred in Revolutionary Russia: Religious activists in the village* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997)
- Young, Julia G., *Mexican Exodus: Emigrants, Exiles, and Refugees of the Cristero War* (England, New York: Oxford University Press, 2015)
- Zeldin, Theodore, *An Intimate History of Humanity* (London: Vintage Books, 1998)
- *France 1848-1945: Volumes 1 and 2*, Oxford history of modern Europe, 1 and 2 (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1977)

### **Chapters in Edited Volumes**

- Arce Gurza, Francisco, 'En busca de una educación revolucionaria: 1924-1934', in *Ensayos sobre historia de la educación revolucionaria*, ed. by Josefina Zoraida Vázquez and others (México D.F.: El Colegio De Mexico, 2013), 145-187
- Bantjes, Adrian A., 'Burning Saints, Molding Minds: Iconoclasm, Civic Ritual, and the Failed Cultural Revolution', in *Rituals of Rule, Rituals of Resistance: Public Celebrations and Popular Culture in Mexico*, ed. by William H. Beezley, Cheryl E. Martin and William E. French, Latin American silhouettes (Wilmington, Del.: SR Books, 1994), 261-284
- , 'Religion and the Mexican Revolution: Toward a New Historiography', in *Religious Culture in Modern Mexico*, ed. by Martin A. Nesvig, Jaguar books on Latin America series (Lanham, Md., Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007), pp. 223–55
- , 'The Regional Dynamics of Anticlericalism and Defanaticization in Revolutionary Mexico', in *Faith and Impiety in Revolutionary Mexico*, ed. by Matthew Butler (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 111-130
- Beals, Ralph, 'The Renaissance of Anthropological Studies in Northwestern Mexico', in *Ejidos and Regions of Refuge in Northwestern Mexico*, ed. by N. R. Crumrine and Phil C. Weigand, Anthropological papers of the University of Arizona, no.46 (1987), pp. 95-102
- Beezley, William H., "The Role of State Governors in the Mexican Revolution," 1-18, (p. 14) in Jürgen Büchenau and William Beezley, eds., *State Governors in the Mexican Revolution, 1910-1952* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2009)
- Burke, Peter, 'History of Events and the Revival of Narrative', in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. by Peter Burke (University Park Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), pp. 233–248
- Butler, Matthew, 'A Revolution in Spirit? Mexico, 1910-1940', in *Faith and Impiety in Revolutionary Mexico*, ed. by Matthew Butler (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 1-20
- Ceccato, Vania, 'The geographic, socioeconomic, and cultural determinants of violence', in Peter D. Donnelly, and Catherine L. Ward (eds), *Oxford Textbook of Violence Prevention: Epidemiology, Evidence, and Policy*, Oxford Textbooks (Oxford, 2014; online edn, Oxford Academic, 1 Nov. 2014), <https://doi.org/10.1093/med/9780199678723.003.0011>.



- Cervantes, Fernando, 'Mexico's "Ritual Constant": Religion and Liberty from Colony to Post-Revolution', in *Faith and Impiety in Revolutionary Mexico*, ed. by Matthew Butler (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 57-73
- Crumrine, N. R., 'Mechanisms of Enclavement Maintenance and Sociocultural Blocking of Modernization Among the Mayo of Southern Sonora', in *Ejidos and Regions of Refuge in Northwestern Mexico*, ed. by N. R. Crumrine and Phil C. Weigand, Anthropological papers of the University of Arizona, no.46 (1987), pp. 21-32
- Gledhill, John, 'Violence and Reconstitution in Mexican Indigenous Communities', in *Violence, Coercion, and State-Making in Twentieth-Century Mexico: The Other Half of the Centaur*, ed. by Wil G. Pansters (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012), 233-251
- Guila, Marcos, and Jeffrey Bortz, 'The Rise of Gangsterism and Charrismo: Labor Violence and the Postrevolutionary Mexican State', in *Violence, Coercion, and State-Making in Twentieth-Century Mexico: The Other Half of the Centaur*, ed. by Wil G. Pansters (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012), pp. 185-211
- Hernández Rodríguez, Rogelio, 'Strongmen and State Weakness', in *Dictablanda: Politics, Work, and Culture in Mexico, 1938-1968*, ed. by Paul Gillingham and Benjamin T. Smith (Durham, NC: Scholars Portal, 2014), pp. 108-125
- Katz, Friedrich 'Rural Rebellions after 1810', in *Riot, Rebellion, and Revolution*, ed. by Friedrich Katz (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2016), pp. 521-560
- Knight, Alan, 'Narco-Violence and the State in Modern Mexico', in *Violence, Coercion, and State-Making in Twentieth-Century Mexico: The Other Half of the Centaur*, ed. by Wil G. Pansters (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012), pp. 115-134
- 'Racism, Revolution, and Indigenismo: Mexico 1910-1940', in *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870-1940*, ed. by Richard Graham and others, Critical reflections on Latin America series (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), pp. 71-113
- 'Revolutionary Project, Recalcitrant People: Mexico, 1910-1940', in *The Revolutionary Process in Mexico: Essays on Political and Social Change, 1880 - 1940*, ed. by Jaime E. Rodríguez O., UCLA Latin American studies series, 72 (Los Angeles, CA: Univ. of California Latin American Center, 1990), pp. 227-264
- 'The End of the Mexican Revolution? From Cárdenas to Avila Camacho, 1937-1941', in *Dictablanda: Politics, Work, and Culture in Mexico, 1938-1968*, ed. by Paul Gillingham and Benjamin T. Smith (Durham, NC: Scholars Portal, 2014), 47-69

- “The Mentality and Modus Operandi of Revolutionary Anticlericalism,” in *Faith and Impiety in Revolutionary Mexico*, ed. by Matthew Butler (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 21–56
- Koonings, Kees, ‘New Violence, Insecurity, and the State: Comparative Reflections on Latin America and Mexico’, in *Violence, Coercion, and State-Making in Twentieth-Century Mexico: The Other Half of the Centaur*, ed. by Wil G. Pansters (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012), pp. 255-278
- Lloyd, Jane-Dale, “Desamortización tardía; el caso de privatización porfiriana en el noroeste de Chihuahua 1905-1911” in *Don Porfirio presidente: Hallazgos, reflexiones y debates. 1876-1911*, ed. by Romana Falcón and Raymond Buve (México: Universidad Iberoamericana, 1998), pp. 201-229
- Lloyd, Jane-Dale, “Rancheros and Rebellion: The Case of Northwestern Chihuahua, 1905-1909”, in *Rural Revolt in Mexico: US Intervention and the Domain of Subaltern Politics*, ed. by Daniel Nugent (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998), pp. 107–133
- Lüdtke, Alf, ‘What is the History of Everyday Life and Who are its Practitioners?’, in *The History of Everyday Life: Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life*, ed. by Alf Lüdtke, Princeton studies in culture/power/history (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 3–40
- McCormick, Gladys, ‘The Forgotten Jaramillo: Building a Social Base of Support for Authoritarianism in Rural Mexico’, in *Dictablanda: Politics, Work, and Culture in Mexico, 1938-1968*, ed. by Paul Gillingham and Benjamin T. Smith (Durham, NC: Scholars Portal, 2014), pp. 196–215
- Meyer, Jean, ‘An Idea of Mexico: Catholics in the Revolution’, in *The Eagle and the Virgin: Nation and Cultural Revolution in Mexico, 1920-1940*, ed. by Mary K. Vaughan and Lewis Stephen E. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006), 281-296
- Nugent, Daniel and Ana Maria Alonso, “Multiple Selective Traditions in Agrarian Reform and Agrarian Struggle: Popular Culture and State Formation in the Ejido of Namiquipa, Chihuahua,” 209-246 in Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniel Nugent, eds., *Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994)
- Pansters, Wil G., ‘Zones of State-Making: Violence, Coercion, and Hegemony in Twentieth-Century Mexico’, in *Violence, Coercion, and State-Making in Twentieth-Century Mexico: The Other Half of the Centaur*, ed. by Wil G. Pansters (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012), pp. 3-39

- Peniston-Bird, Corinna M., 'Oral History: the sound of memory', in *History Beyond the Text: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources*, ed. by Barber, Sarah: Peniston-Bird, Corinna (Taylor & Francis Group, 2009), pp. 105-121
- Powell, Kathy, 'Political Practice, Everyday Political Violence, and Electoral Processes During the Neoliberal Period in Mexico', in *Violence, Coercion, and State-Making in Twentieth-Century Mexico: The Other Half of the Centaur*, ed. by Wil G. Pansters (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012), pp. 212-232
- Rath, Thomas, 'Camouflaging the State: The Army and the Limits of Hegemony in PRIista Mexico, 1940-1960', in *Dictablanda: Politics, Work, and Culture in Mexico, 1938-1968*, ed. by Paul Gillingham and Benjamin T. Smith (Durham, NC: Scholars Portal, 2014), pp. 89-107
- Rugeley, Terry, and Ben Fallaw, 'The Challenges of Scholarship on the Mexican Military Experience', in *Forced Marches: Soldiers and Military Caciques in Modern Mexico*, ed. by Ben Fallaw and Terry Rugeley (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012), 1-22
- Schell, Patience A., 'Of the Sublime Mission of Mothers of Families: The Union of Mexican Catholic Ladies in Revolutionary Mexico', in *The Women's Revolution in Mexico, 1910-1953: Latin American Silhouettes*, ed. by S. E. Mitchell and Patience A. Schell (Lanham Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007), 99-104
- Vázquez, Dizán, "'De la uniformidad a la diversidad religiosa en Chihuahua. Una historia de encuentros y desencuentros'", in *Pluralismo y Religión en Chihuahua Estudios Sobre el Conflicto Religioso*, ed. by André Oseguera and Rodríguez López (México D.F.: Secretaría de Cultura Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2016), pp. 23-57
- Wasserman, Mark, 'The Transition from Personalist to Party Rule: Chihuahuan Politics during the 1930s', in *The Revolutionary Process in Mexico: Essays on Political and Social Change, 1880 - 1940*, ed. by Jaime E. Rodríguez O., UCLA Latin American studies series, 72 (Los Angeles, CA: Univ. of California Latin American Center, 1990), pp. 213-226

### **Journal Articles and Book Reviews**

- Aboites Aguilar, Luis, 'Territorio, poder e intereses privados: ensayo sobre la política en Chihuahua, 1860-1930', *Nueva Antropología*, X.36 (1989), 65-87

- Aguilar, Kevan A., 'From Comrades to Subversives: Mexican Secret Police and 'Undesirable' Spanish Exiles, 1939–60', *J. Lat. Am. Stud.*, 53.1 (2021), 1–24 <<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/journal-of-latin-american-studies/article/from-comrades-to-subversives-mexican-secret-police-and-undesirable-spanish-exiles-193960/E8C04C1324D961D4DCEDC0A502D4760A#>>
- Alba, Francisco, and Joseph E. Potter, 'Population and Development in Mexico since 1940: An Interpretation', *Population and Development Review*, 12.1 (1986), 47
- Andrade, Tonio, 'A Chinese Farmer, Two African Boys, and a Warlord: Toward a Global Microhistory', *Journal of World History*, 21 (2010), pp. 573–591
- Arias, Patricia, 'Luis González. Microhistoria e historia regional', *Desacatos*, núm. 21, mayo-agosto 2006, 177-186
- Arrieta, Olivia, 'Religion and Ritual among the Tarahumara Indians of Northern Mexico: Maintenance of Cultural Autonomy through Resistance and Transformation of Colonizing Symbols', *Wicazo Sa Review*, 8.2 (1992), pp. 11-23
- Báez-Jorge, Félix, 'El poder y los instrumentos de la fe (San Rafael Guízar y Valencia en el entramado del catolicismo social): Un santo de carne y hueso', *Ulúa*, 22 (2013), pp. 135–174
- Bailey, David C., 'Álvaro Obregón and Anticlericalism in the 1910 Revolution', *Americas*, 26.2 (1969), 183–198 <<https://doi.org/10.2307/980298>>
- 'Revisionism and the Recent Historiography of the Mexican Revolution', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 58.1 (1978), 62-79
- Bailyn, Bernard, 'The Challenge of Modern Historiography', *The American Historical Review*, 87.1 (1982), 1-24 <<https://doi.org/10.2307/1863306>>
- "Idolatry and Iconoclasm in Revolutionary Mexico: The De-Christianization Campaigns, 1929-1940," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos*, 13.1 (1997), pp. 87–120
- Barrón, J. J., "'Socorro Rivera'", *Chihuahua*, 1, año 1 (febrero de 1957)
- Benjamin, Harold, 'Revolutionary Education in Mexico', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 182 (1935), 181-189
- Blancarte, Roberto, 'Closing Comment: "Personal Enemies of God: Anticlericals and Anticlericalism in Revolutionary Mexico, 1915-1940"', *The Americas*, 65.4 (2009), 589–599

- Branch, H. N., and L. S. Rowe, 'The Mexican Constitution of 1917 Compared with The Constitution of 1857', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 71 (1917), i-116
- Brewster, Claire, and Keith Brewster, 'Patria, Honor y Fuerza': A Study of a Right-Wing Youth Movement in Mexico during the 1930s-1960s', *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 46.4 (2014), 691-721
- Britton, John A., 'Moisés Sáenz: Nacionalista mexicano', *Historia Mexicana*, 22.1 (1972), 77-97
- Brown, Lyle, 'Mexican Church-State Relations, 1933-1940', *A Journal of Church and State*, 6.2 (1964), 202-222
- Buchenau, Jürgen, 'Plutarco Elías Calles and the Maximato in Revolutionary Mexico: A Reinterpretation', *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas*, 43.1 (2006), 229-253 <<https://doi.org/10.7767/jbla.2006.43.1.229>>
- Burrows, M. J., 'Education and the Third Republic', *Hist. J.*, 28.1 (1985), pp. 249-260  
<<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X00002314>>
- Butler, Matthew, "Revolution and the Ritual Year: Religious Conflict and Innovation in Cristero Mexico", *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 38.3 (2006), 465-490
- Cabrera, Luis, 'The Mexican Revolution: Its Causes, Purposes and Results', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 69 (1917), 1-17
- Carozza, Paolo G., 'From Conquest to Constitutions: Retrieving a Latin American Tradition of the Idea of Human Rights', *Human Rights Quarterly*, 25 (2003), 281-313  
<[https://scholarship.law.nd.edu/law\\_faculty\\_scholarship/581](https://scholarship.law.nd.edu/law_faculty_scholarship/581)>
- Carr, Barry, 'Crisis in Mexican Communism: The Extraordinary Congress of the Mexican Communist Party', *Science & Society*, 50.4 (1986), 391-414
- 'The Mexican Communist Party and Agrarian Mobilization in the Laguna, 1920-1940: A Worker-Peasant Alliance?', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 67.3 (1987), 371-404
- Cavanaugh, Mary M., 'Theories of Violence: Social Science Perspectives', *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 22.5 (2012), 607-618 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/10911359.2011.598757>>
- Chrimes, Philip, 'Review of *Myths of Demilitarization in Postrevolutionary Mexico* by Thomas Rath', *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944) 90th anniversary issue (January 2014)*, Vol. 90.1, pp. 243-244
- Clarke, Joseph, "'The Rage of the Fanatics': Religious Fanaticism and the Making of Revolutionary Violence", *French History*, 33.2 (2019), 236-258 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/fh/crz004>>

- Craig, Wesley W., 'The Church in Latin America: Progress and Challenge', *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, 66-74 <[https://www.dialoguejournal.com/wp-content/uploads/sbi/articles/Dialogue\\_V05N03\\_68.pdf](https://www.dialoguejournal.com/wp-content/uploads/sbi/articles/Dialogue_V05N03_68.pdf)>
- Crew, David F., 'Alltagsgeschichte: A New Social History "From below"?', *Central European History*, 22.3/4 (1989), 394-407
- Cumberland, Charles C., 'Genesis of Mexican Agrarian Reform', *The Historian*, 14.2 (1952), 209-232
- Daniel, James M., 'The Spanish Frontier in West Texas and Northern Mexico', *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 71.4 (1968), 481-495
- Daum, Andreas, 'German Historiography in Transatlantic Perspective: Interview with Hans-Ulrich Wehler', *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute*, 26 (2000), 117-126 <<https://www.ghi-dc.org/publication/bulletin-26-spring-2000>>
- Deere, Carmen D., Jacqueline Contreras, and Jennifer Twyman, 'Patrimonial Violence: A Study of Women's Property Rights in Ecuador', *Latin American Perspectives*, 41.1 (2014), pp. 143-165
- Fallow, Ben, 'The Seduction of Revolution: Anticlerical Campaigns against Confession in Mexico, 1914-1935', *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 45.1 (2013), pp. 91-120
- 'Varieties of Mexican Revolutionary Anticlericalism: Radicalism, Iconoclasm, and Otherwise, 1914-1935', *The Americas*, 65.4 (2009), 481-509
- Ferry, Elizabeth E., 'Envisioning Power in Mexico: Legitimacy, Crisis, and the Practice of Patrimony', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 16.1 (2003), pp. 22-53
- Finkelman de Sommer, Maty, 'Los judíos en el estado de Chihuahua', *Revista de Humanidades: Tecnológico de Monterrey*, 16 (2004), 195-209
- Flores, Richard R., 'The Corrido and the Emergence of Texas-Mexican Social Identity', *The Journal of American Folklore*, 105.416 (1992), 166-182
- Gamio, Manuel, 'Emilio Portes Gil—Mexico's New President', *Current History (1916-1940)*, 29.6 (1929), 981-986
- García Valladares, Miguel E., 'Desfanatización e iconoclasia, la quema de santos de Tlapacoyan, Veracruz, de 1931', *Signos históricos*, XX.40 (2018), 232-261 file:///E:/Defanaticization\_and\_iconoclasm\_the\_burning\_of\_sai.pdf
- Gates, Marilyn, 'Partial Proletarianization and Reinforcement of Peasantry in the Mexican Ejido', *NS, NorthSouth*, 6.12 (1981), pp. 63-79

- Gillson, Stefanie L., and David A. Ross, 'From Generation to Generation: Rethinking "Soul Wounds" and Historical Trauma', *Biological psychiatry*, 86.7 (2019), e19-e20 <<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.biopsych.2019.07.033>>
- Ginzburg, Carlo, John Tedeschi, and Anne Tedeschi, 'Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about It', *Critical Inquiry*, 20.1 (1993), 10–35
- Gojman de Backal, Alicia, 'Los Camisas Doradas en la Época de Lázaro Cárdenas', *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies/Revue canadienne des études latino-américaines et caraïbes*, 20.39/40 (1995), pp. 39–64
- González Mello, Renato, 'Manuel Gamio, Diego Rivera, and the Politics of Mexican Anthropology', *Anthropology and Aesthetics*, 45 (Spring, 2004), 161–85
- González Morfin, Juan, 'Antonio Guízar y Valencia, obispo y arzobispo de Chihuahua, y su influencia en la formación de un laicado católico ajeno a la resistencia armada', *Historial editorial*, VIII.1 (2020), 179-204  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7278-7872>
- Gracia, Amalia, and Jorge Horbath, 'Expresiones de la discriminación hacia grupos religiosos minoritarias en México', *Sociedad y Religión*, XXIII.39 (2013), 12–53
- Gretton, George L., 'Ownership and its Objects', *The Rabel Journal of Comparative and International Private Law*, 71.4 (2007), 802-851
- Grillo, Ioan, "Mexican Cartels: A Century of Defying U.S. Drug Policy." *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 20, no. 1 (2013): 253–65.
- Grobbink, L. H., J. J. L., & van Marle, H. J. C., "Revenge: An Analysis of Its Psychological Underpinnings." *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 59(8), 2015, 892-907.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0306624X13519963>
- Guerra Manzo, Enrique, 'El Fuego Sagrado: La Segunda Cristiada y el Caso de Michoacán (1931-1938)', *Historia Mexicana*, 55.2 (2005), 513-575
- Guzmán Monroy, Virginia, 'El conflicto anticlerical en la región zoque chiapaneca y la defensa de los bienes muebles e inmuebles (1914-1935)', *Boletín de Monumentos Históricos*, Tercera Época.37 (2016), 175-191
- Guzmán Rangel, Efraín, *La Revista de Historia de la Universidad Juárez del Estado de Durango*, 37 (Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas de la Universidad Juárez, 2009)
- Hamby, Sherry. "On defining violence, and why it matters." *Psychology of Violence*. 7. (2017), 167-180.  
10.1037/vio0000117

- Hansen, Lawrence D. T., 'La colonización bóer en Chihuahua y el suroeste de Estados Unidos, 1903-1917', *Historia Mexicana*, 52.2 (2002), pp. 449–489
- Hardy, B. C., and Melody Seymour, 'Importation of Arms and the 1912 Mormon "Exodus" from Mexico', *New Mexico Historical Review*, 72.4 (1997), 297–318
- Hardy, B. C., 'Cultural "Encystment" as a Cause of the Mormon Exodus from Mexico in 1912', *Pacific Historical Review*, 34.4 (1965), pp. 439–454 <https://doi.org/10.2307/3636354>
- Hasnas, John, 'Are There Derivative Natural Rights?', *Public Affairs Quarterly*, 9.3 (1995), 215–232
- Heilman, Jaymie, 'The Demon Inside: Madre Conchita, Gender, and the Assassination of Obregón', *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos*, 18.1 (2002), 23–60 <https://doi.org/10.1525/msem.2002.18.1.23>
- Hernandez, José Angel, "Violence as Communication: The Revolt of La Ascensión, Chihuahua (1892)," *Landscapes of Violence*, Vol. 2: No. 1, Article 6, 1-22. <http://scholarworks.umass.edu/lov/vol2/iss1/6>.
- Hu-DeHart, Evelyn, 'Immigrants to a Developing Society: The Chinese in Northern Mexico, 1875-1932', *Journal of Arizona History*, Vol. 21 (1980), pp. 49-86
- Iglesias González, Román, *Planes políticos, proclamas, manifiestos, y otros documentos de la independencia al México moderno, 1812-1940*, Serie C, Estudios históricos, núm. 74, 1st edn (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1998)
- Janzen, Rebecca, 'Land Conflict in Mexico between Mennonite Colonies and Their Neighbors', *Anabaptist Witness*, 7.2 (2020) <[https://www.anabaptistwitness.org/journal\\_entry/land-conflict-in-mexico-between-mennonite-colonies-and-their-neighbors/](https://www.anabaptistwitness.org/journal_entry/land-conflict-in-mexico-between-mennonite-colonies-and-their-neighbors/)>
- Kane, N. S., 'Bankers and Diplomats: The Diplomacy of the Dollar in Mexico, 1921-1924', *The Business History Review*, 47.3 (1973), 335–52 <<https://doi.org/10.2307/3113268>>
- Katz, Friedrich, 'Labor Conditions on Haciendas in Porfirian Mexico: Some Trends and Tendencies', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 54.1 (1974), 1–47 <https://doi.org/10.1215/00182168-54.1.1>
- Knight, Alan, 'Cardenismo: Juggernaut or Jalopy?', *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 26.1 (1994), 73–107
- 'Democratic and Revolutionary Traditions in Latin America', *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 20.2 (2001), 147–186
- 'Patterns and Prescriptions in Mexican Historiography', *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 25.3 (2006), 340–366



- ‘Popular Culture and the Revolutionary State in Mexico, 1910-1940’, *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 74.3 (1994), 393-444
- Knowlton, Robert J., ‘El Ejido Mexicano en el Siglo XIX’, *Historia Mexicana*, XLVIII.1 (1998), 71-96
- ‘Some Practical Effects of Clerical Opposition to the Mexican Reform, 1856-1860’, *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 45.2 (1965), 246–256 <https://doi.org/10.1215/00182168-45.2.246>
- La Garza Toledo, Enrique de, José L. Gayosso Ramírez, and Leticia Pogliaghi, ‘Corporatism, Informality and Democracy in the Streets of Mexico City’, *Global Labour Journal*, 8.3 (2017), 219-233  
<file:///E:/jadmin,+Article+-+Pogliaghi+[246]+-+PRESS+QUALITY.pdf>
- Lewis, Stephen E., “Review of *Myths of Demilitarization in Postrevolutionary Mexico*’ by Thomas Rath”, *The American Historical Review*, 119.2 (2014), 571-572
- López, Alfaro G., *Los Cristeros en Sinaloa: Una forma de bandolerismo: Dossier: Política y violencia en el México contemporáneo* (2014) <https://ifc.dpz.es/recursos/publicaciones/34/48/04lopezalfaro.pdf>
- López Carbajal, David, ‘Una liturgia de ruptura: el ceremonial de consagración y coronación de Agustín I’, *Signos históricos*, 13.25 (2011), 69–99 [http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci\\_arttext&pid=S1665-44202011000100003&lng=en&tlng=es](http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1665-44202011000100003&lng=en&tlng=es)
- Magne, Martin P. R., and R. G. Matson, ‘Moving On: Expanding Perspectives on Athapaskan Migration’, *Canadian Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 34.No. 2 (2010), 212-239
- Marak, Andrae M., ‘Federalization of education in Chihuahua’, *Paedagogica Historica*, 41.3 (2005), 357–375 [accessed 29 July 2023]
- , ‘The Failed Assimilation of the Tarahumara in Postrevolutionary Mexico’, *Journal of the Southwest*, 45.3 (2003), 411–435
- Martin, Luis, ‘Lucas Alamán Pioneer of Mexican Historiography: An Interpretative Essay’, *The Americas*, 32.2, 239–256
- Menge, Torsten, ‘Violence and the materiality of power. *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 25(6), (2029), 761–786. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13698230.2019.1700344>
- Meyer, Jean, *Pro domo mea: "La Cristiada" in the distance: No. 29* (CIDE, 2004)
- Meyer, Lorenzo, ‘La etapa formativa del Estado mexicano contemporáneo (1928-1940)’, *Foro Internacional*, 17.4 (68) (1977), pp. 453–476

- Michaels, Albert L., 'Fascism and Sinarquismo: Popular Nationalisms Against the Mexican Revolution', *Journal of Church and State*, 8.2 (1966), 234–250
- 'The Modification of the Anti-Clerical Nationalism of the Mexican Revolution by General Lázaro Cárdenas and Its Relationship to the Church-State Detente in Mexico', *The Americas*, 26.1 (1969), 35–53  
<https://doi.org/10.2307/979964>
- Miguez Bonino, José, *Faces of Latin American Protestantism: 1993 Carnahan lectures* (Grand Rapids, Mich., Cambridge: W.B. Eerdmans, 1997)
- Mitchell, S. E., and Patience A. Schell, *The Women's Revolution in Mexico, 1910-1953: Latin American Silhouettes* (Lanham Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007)
- Montesquieu, Charles de, *The Spirit of the Laws*, Cambridge texts in the history of political thought, Books 14-18, 21, Anne M. Cohler, Basia K. Miller and Stone, Harold Samuel, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)
- Morton, Ward M., 'The Mexican Constitutional Congress of 1916-1917', *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, 33.1 (1952), 7–27
- Mottier, Nicole, 'Drug Gangs and Politics in Ciudad Juárez: 1928–1936', *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos*, 25.1 (2009), 19–46 <<https://doi.org/10.1525/msem.2009.25.1.19>>
- Muriá, José M., and Federico A. Solórzano, *Historia de Jalisco: Tomo IV* (Guadalajara, Jalisco: Gobierno de Jalisco, Secretaria General, Unidad Editorial, Guadalajara, Jalisco, México, 1982)
- Murphy, Thomas W., "'Other Mormon Histories: Lamanite Subjectivity in Mexico', *Journal of Mormon History*, 26.2 (2000), 179-214
- Noriega Cantú, Alfonso, *Los derechos sociales creación de la Revolución de 1910 y de la Constitución 1917: Creación de la revolución de 1910 y de la Constitución de 1917*, Serie C: Estudios históricos, núm. 27, 1st edn (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Facultad de Derecho, Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas, 1988)
- Palacios, Guillermo, 'Postrevolutionary Intellectuals, Rural Readings and the Shaping of the 'Peasant Problem' in Mexico: El Maestro Rural 1932–34', *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 30.2 (1998), 309–339
- Pérez Rocha, Manuel, 'Socialismo y enseñanza técnica en México: 1930 - 1940', *RPD*, 9.36 (2013), 97–128  
 <<https://doi.org/10.22201/iiec.20078951e.1978.36.40260>>
- Perry, Michael J., 'Liberal Democracy and the Right to Religious Freedom', *The Review of Politics*, 71.4 (2009), 621–635

- Phillips, Mark, 'The Revival of Narrative: Thoughts on a Current Historiographical Debate', *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 53.2, 149–165
- Potash, Robert, 'Historiografía del México independiente', *Historia Mexicana [En línea]*, 10.3 (1961), 395–396
- Quirk, Robert E., J. A. Lara, and Leopoldo L. y Torres, 'Prisionero de Callistas y Cristeros', *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 35.1 (1955), 129-130 <https://doi.org/10.2307/2509276>
- Raby, David L., 'La "Educación socialista" en México', *Cuadernos Políticos*, 29 (1981), 75-82
- 'Los maestros rurales y los conflictos sociales en México (1931-1940)', *Historia Mexicana* (1968), 190–226  
<<https://historiamexicana.colmex.mx/index.php/RHM/article/view/1210>>
- Rath, Thomas, 'Burning the Archive, Building the State? Politics, Paper, and US Power in Postwar Mexico', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 55.4 (2020), 764-792
- Rivera Castro, José, 'Situación Social, Organización y Luchas Campesinas en México, 1928-1935', *Lugajos*, 6 (abril-junio, 2015), 27–53
- Rivera León, Mauro A., 'Understanding Constitutional Amendments in Mexico: Perpetuum Mobile Constitution', *Mex Law Rev*, 1.18 (2016), 3-27 <<https://doi.org/10.22201/ijj.24485306e.2017.18.10774>>
- Rives Sánchez, Roberto, *La Reforma constitucional en México*, Serie Doctrina jurídica, 556, 1st edn (México D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas, 2010)
- Sandre Osorio, Israel, 'Disputas por el Agua del Rio Casas Grandes, Chihuahua: Colonias, Ejidos y Pequeñas Propiedades', *Boletín del Archive Histórico del Agua*, 12.36 (2006), 59-69
- Savarino Roggero, Franco, 'Catholics of the North: the Catholic Mobilization in Chihuahua During the Religious Conflict', *International Journal of Latin American Religions*, 4.1 (2020), 14–24 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s41603-020-00101-7>
- Smith, Theodore Clarke, "The Writing of American History in America, from 1884-1934," *The American Historical Review*, vol. 30, no. 3 (April, 1935)
- Sonnichsen, C. L., 'Colonel William C. Greene and the Strike at Cananea, Sonora, 1906', *Arizona and the West*, 13.4 (1971), pp. 343–368
- Spicer, Edward H., 'El mestizaje cultural en el suroeste de Estados Unidos y noroeste de México', *Revista de Indias*, 24 (1964), 1-26

<<https://www.proquest.com/docview/1300672211/fulltextPDF/C8D723500DAD424BPQ/1?accountid=7408>>

Springer, Simon, and Philippe Le Billon, "Violence and Space: An Introduction to the Geographies of Violence,"

*Political Geography*, vol. 52, (2016), 1-3, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2016.03.003>

Steege, Paul and others, 'The History of Everyday Life: A Second Chapter', *The Journal of Modern History*, 80.2 (2008), 358–378

Stover, Philip R., 'The Exodus of 1912: A Huddle of Pros and Cons—Mormons Twice Dispossessed', *Journal of*

*Mormon History*, 44.3 (2018), 45–69 <https://doi.org/10.5406/jmormhist.44.3.0045>

Szjártó, István, 'Puzzle, fractal, mosaic. Thoughts on microhistory', *Journal of Microhistory* (2008), 1-7

[https://www.academia.edu/389075/Puzzle\\_fractal\\_mosaic\\_Thoughts\\_on\\_microhistory\\_Journal\\_of\\_Microhistory\\_2008\\_?auto=download](https://www.academia.edu/389075/Puzzle_fractal_mosaic_Thoughts_on_microhistory_Journal_of_Microhistory_2008_?auto=download)

Thapar-Björkert, Suruchi, Lotta Samelius, and Gurchathen S. Sanghera, 'exploring symbolic violence in the everyday:

misrecognition, condescension, consent and complicity', *Feminist Review*, 112 (2016), 144–162

Tierney, Brian, 'The Idea of Natural Rights—Origins and Persistence', *Northwestern Journal of International Human Rights*,

2.1 (2004), 1-13

Vries, Jan de, 'Playing with Scales: The Global and the Micro, the Macro and the Nano', *Past and Present*, 242.14

(2019), 23-36 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gtz043>>

Walter, E. V., "Power and Violence," *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 58, No. 2 (Jun., 1964), 350-360

Wasserman, Mark, 'Enrique C. Creel: Business and Politics in Mexico, 1880–1930', *Bus. Hist. Rev.*, 59.4 (1985), 645–

62 <<https://doi.org/10.2307/3114598>>

—— 'Strategies for Survival of the Porfirian Elite in Revolutionary Mexico: Chihuahua during the 1920s', *The Hispanic*

*American Historical Review*, 67.1 (1987), 87-107 <<https://doi.org/10.2307/2515204>>

Weis, Robert, 'The Revolution on Trial: Assassination, Christianity, and the Rule of Law in 1920s Mexico', *Hispanic*

*American Historical Review*, 96.2 (2016), 319–353

Weston, Charles H., 'The Political Legacy of Lázaro Cárdenas', *Americas*, 39.3 (1983), 383–405

<<https://doi.org/10.2307/981231>>

Wilkie, James W., 'The Meaning of the Cristero Religious War Against the Mexican Revolution', *Journal of Church and*

*State*, 8.2 (1966), 214–233

- Will, Martina, 'The Mennonite Colonization of Chihuahua: Reflections of Competing Visions', *The Americas*, 53.3 (1997), 353–378
- 'Winds Shift in Mexico, The', *Missionary Review of the World*, 61.3 (1938), pp. 123–124 <https://cafis.org/files/MRW-1938-3.pdf>
- Wright, John B., 'Mormon Colonias of Chihuahua', *Geographical Review*, 91.3 (2001), 586–96
- Yankelevich, Pablo, 'Mexico for the Mexicans: Immigration, National Sovereignty and the Promotion of Mestizaje', *The Americas*, 68.3 (2012), 405–36
- Zavala Ramírez, María del Carmen, '¿De quién son los niños? Estado, familia y educación sexual en México en la década de 1930', *Signos históricos*, xxi (2019), 154–191
- 'Social History and Total History', *Journal of Social History*, 10.2 (1976), 237–245  
<<https://doi.org/10.1353/jsh/10.2.237>>
- Zermeño, Guillermo, 'La Historiografía en México: un Balance (1940-2010)', *Historia Mexicana*, 4.248 (2013), 1695–1742

### **Unpublished Dissertations and Theses**

- Arboleyda, Ruth, 'El colectivismo ejidal y la cuestión agraria en Mexico: El caso de la Laguna, Un estudio de antropología política' (Licenciatura, Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1978)
- Avitia Hernández, Antonio, 'La narrativa de las Cristiadas: novela, cuento, teatro, cine y corrido de las Rebeliones Cristeras' (Disertación, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, 2006)
- Boyd, Melissa, 'The Political Career and Ideology of Mariano Otero, Mexican Politician (1817-1850)' (PhD, University of St Andrews, 2012)
- Brand, Donald E., 'The Historical Geography of Northwestern Chihuahua' (Dissertation, University of California, 1937)
- Chrisman, Kevin M., 'Meet Me at Sanborn's: Labor, Leisure, Gender, and Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Mexico' (PhD, York University, 2018)
- Figueras, Juan A., 'Agrarian Reform and Agricultural Development in Mexico' (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Florida, 1972)

- Gotshall, E. R., JR., 'Catholicism and Catholic Action in Mexico 1929-1941: A Church's Response to a Revolutionary Society and the Politics of the Modern Age' (PhD, University of Pittsburgh, 1970)
- Hardy, B Carmon, 'The Mormon Colonies of Northern Mexico: A history, 1885-1912' (PhD, Wayne State University, 1963)
- Harrison Olcott, Jocelyn, 'Las Hijas de La Malinche: Women's Organizing and State Formation in Postrevolutionary Mexico, 1934-1940' (PhD, Yale University, 2000)
- Hernández García de León, 'The Sinarquista Movement with Special Reference to the Period 1934-1944' (PhD, University of London, 1990)
- Langston, Edward L., 'The Impact of Prohibition on the Mexican-United States Border: The El Paso-Ciudad Juarez Case' (PhD Dissertation, Texas Tech University, 1974)
- Morgan, Brandon, 'Columbus, New Mexico, and Palomas, Chihuahua: Transnational Landscapes of Violence, 1888-1930' (Dissertation, University of New Mexico, 2013)
- Orozco-García, Eva N., 'Las Mujeres Sinarquistas (1937-1962): Las Manos Ocultas en la Construcción del Sentimiento Nacionalista Mexicano de Derecha' (PhD, University of Texas, El Paso, 2019)
- Penton, James, 'Mexico's Reformation: A History of Mexican Protestantism from its Inception to the Present.' (PhD Dissertation, University of Iowa, 1965)
- Pratt, Lucile, 'A Keyhole View of Mexican Agrarian Policy as Shown by Mormon Land Problems' (Master's Thesis, Columbia University, 1960)
- Sapia-Bosch, Alfonso F., 'The Role of General Lucio Blanco in the Mexican Revolution, 1913-1922' (Ph.D. Dissertation, Georgetown University, 1977)
- Sinkler, Adrian C., 'Privatizing the Patrimony: State-Society Relations, Family Norms, and Institutional Change in Rural Mexico' (PhD, University of Washington, 2011)
- Valenzuela, René A., 'Chihuahua, Calles, and the Escobar Revolt of 1929' (Master's Thesis, University of Texas, El Paso, 1975)
- Waterbury, Sean, "Mexico's Mormon Colonies: 1876 to Revolution Chihuahua and Sonora Farmers" (Course Final Paper, Western Oregon University, 2013)

## **Online Articles**

Antes de su muerte Socorro Rivera dejó una carta, *VozenRed.com: Madera* (2023)

<<https://www.vozenred.com/2015/notas.php?i=229856>>

Aurelio Robles Acevedo 1905-1973, *Aurelio Robles Acevedo* (2015)

<[http://www.ahunam.unam.mx/consultar\\_fcu?id=3.1](http://www.ahunam.unam.mx/consultar_fcu?id=3.1)>

Bakker, J. Lemke, "patrimonialism." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, September 1, 2017.

<https://www.britannica.com/topic/patrimonialism>

Batista, Jesús, *PAN Comité Directivo Estatal Chihuahua: Historia Nacional* (Ciudad Chihuahua, Chihuahua, 2019)

<<https://www.panchihuahua.org.mx/historia>>

*Chihuahua Gobierno del Estado: Gobernadores del Estado* (2020)

<<https://www.chihuahua.gob.mx/info/gobernadores-del-estado>>

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints The, *The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: Lamanite Identity*

<<https://www.churchofjesuschrist.org/study/history/topics/lamanite-identity?lang=eng>>

*Constitución Federal de los Estados-unidos mexicanos 1824*

<<http://www.ordenjuridico.gob.mx/Constitucion/1824B.pdf>>

Cristo Rei Santuário Nacional do Cristo Rei, *History of the National Shrine of Christ the King* (2023)

<<https://cristorei.pt/en/history/history-of-the-shrine>>

Diario de los Debates del Congreso Constituyente, 21-11-1916 al 31-01-1917, *Convocatoria al IV Congreso*

*Constituyente: Diario Núm. 58, 16-01-1917*

<[https://www.diputados.gob.mx/LeyesBiblio/ref/cpeum/DD\\_Constituyente.pdf](https://www.diputados.gob.mx/LeyesBiblio/ref/cpeum/DD_Constituyente.pdf)>

Dürr, Eveline, 'Translating Democracy: Customary Law and Constitutional Rights in Mexico', *sites*, 2.2 (2005), pp.

91-118 <<https://doi.org/10.111157/sites-vol2iss2id66>>

encuentra.com, *Fechas cronológicas de don Juan Navarrete y Guerrero* (2008)

<[https://encuentra.com/causas\\_de\\_canonizacion/fechas\\_cronologicas\\_de\\_don\\_juan\\_navarrete\\_y\\_guerrero15691/](https://encuentra.com/causas_de_canonizacion/fechas_cronologicas_de_don_juan_navarrete_y_guerrero15691/)>

Gobernadores del Estado, *Gobernadores del Estado* (2016) <<https://chihuahua.gob.mx/info/gobernadores-del-estado>>

Gobierno de México, *Pueblos indígenas*

<[https://sic.cultura.gob.mx/lista.php?table=grupo\\_etnico&disciplina=&estado\\_id=](https://sic.cultura.gob.mx/lista.php?table=grupo_etnico&disciplina=&estado_id=)>

Gómez Farías. Chihuahua, *PueblosAmericas.com* <<https://en.mexico.pueblosamerica.com/i/pena-blanca-15/>>

González Dávila, José M., *¿Qué significa ser apache en el siglo XXI?* (Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2018)

González, Francisco, *Guadalupe Victoria, Meoqui fue municipio durante 37 años (2022)* <[https://lanoticiaregional-com-mx.translate.goog/guadalupe-victoria-meoqui-fue-municipio-durante-37-anos/?\\_x\\_tr\\_sl=auto&\\_x\\_tr\\_tl=en&\\_x\\_tr\\_hl=en](https://lanoticiaregional-com-mx.translate.goog/guadalupe-victoria-meoqui-fue-municipio-durante-37-anos/?_x_tr_sl=auto&_x_tr_tl=en&_x_tr_hl=en)>

*Hecatomb* <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/hecatomb>

Hernansáez, Luis R., *Corridos zacatecanos contemporáneos.: De Valentín de la Sierra al siglo XXI (homenaje a Cuauhtémoc Esparza* (México, 2015)

[https://www.academia.edu/28664766/El\\_corrido\\_zacatecano\\_comtempor%C3%A1neo\\_De\\_Valent%C3%ADn\\_de\\_la\\_Sierra\\_al\\_siglo\\_XXI\\_pdf](https://www.academia.edu/28664766/El_corrido_zacatecano_comtempor%C3%A1neo_De_Valent%C3%ADn_de_la_Sierra_al_siglo_XXI_pdf)

Hoover Peifer, Jane, *Trust God—Love each other* (2017) <<https://www.mennoniteusa.org/convention-news/trust-god-love/>>

Hurley, Amanda K., *Climate Change Will Not Make Us Nicer* (2018) <https://www.wired.com/story/climate-change-will-not-make-us-nicer/>

Ignacio del Cueto Ruiz-Funes, Juan, *Arquitectos españoles exiliados en México* (México D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2019)

La Crónica de Chihuahua, “*Tiren las armas, que al cabo al que quieren es a mí*” (2011) <[https://www-cronicadechihuahua-com.translate.goog/Tiren-las-armas-que-al-cabo-al-que.html?\\_x\\_tr\\_sl=auto&\\_x\\_tr\\_tl=en&\\_x\\_tr\\_hl=en](https://www-cronicadechihuahua-com.translate.goog/Tiren-las-armas-que-al-cabo-al-que.html?_x_tr_sl=auto&_x_tr_tl=en&_x_tr_hl=en)>

La Portilla, Anselmo d., *México en 1856 y 1857: Gobierno del general Comonfort*, República liberal, obras fundamentales (México D.F.: Instituto Nacional de Estudios Históricos de la Revolución Mexicana, 1987)

LeLibre, Olivier, *The Cristeros: Catholic Soldiers of Christ: 20th Century Mexico's Catholic Uprising* (2014) <<<http://www.catholicapologetics.info/catholicteaching/history/cristero.htm>>>

Los últimos cristeros, *Desde la Pirinola: Cuando los granadeños tomaron las armas para defender su libertad religiosa* (2020) <https://desdelapirinola.tumblr.com/post/614763154318229504/los-%C3%BAltimos-cristeros>



- Meneses Morales, Ernesto, *Tendencias Educativas Oficiales en México 1911-1934: La Problemática de la Educación Mexicana durante la Revolución y los Primeros Lustrros de la Época Posrevolucionaria* (México DF: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2002)
- Meyer, Jean A., *De una revolución a la otra: México en la historia* (México D.F.: El Colegio de México Centro de Estudios Históricos, 2013)
- Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary, s.v. “patrimony,” <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/patrimony>
- Moreno, Consuelo S., ‘The Movement that Sinned Twice: The Cristero War and Mexican Collective Memory’, 13 (2020), 1–32 <https://scholarworks.lib.csusb.edu/history-in-the-making/vol13/iss1/5>
- Out of Africa—via Teddy Roosevelt, a circus and Francisco I. Madero, *The Mex Files* (2010) <https://mexfiles.net/2010/03/30/out-of-africa-via-teddy-roosevelt-a-circus-and-francisco-i-madero/>
- Pariona, Amber, World Facts, “The Most Dangerous Borders in the World, 2019”, <https://www.worldatlas.com/contributor/amber-pariona>.
- Pie de Página, *Apaches: Alive and well in 21st Century Mexico* (2021) <https://piedepagina.mx/apaches-alive-and-well-in-20th-century-mexico/>
- Pineda Pablos, Nicolás, *Los gobernadores de Sonora, 1911-2009* (Hermosillo, Sonora, México: H. Congreso del Estado, LIX Legislatura, 2010)
- Rechy Montiel, Mario, *Síntesis de la Historia agraria de México: Con una reflexión sobre las tierras no productivas* <[https://www.academia.edu/22395700/s%C3%ADntesis\\_de\\_la\\_Historia\\_agraria\\_de\\_M%C3%A9xico](https://www.academia.edu/22395700/s%C3%ADntesis_de_la_Historia_agraria_de_M%C3%A9xico)>
- Trotsky, Leon, *Literature and Revolution: Chapter 8 - Revolutionary and Socialist Art* (2007) [https://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1924/lit\\_revo/ch08.htm](https://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1924/lit_revo/ch08.htm)
- WIPO, *Customary Law, Traditional Knowledge and Intellectual Property: An Outline of the Issues* (2013) [https://www.wipo.int/export/sites/www/tk/en/resources/pdf/overview\\_customary\\_law.pdf](https://www.wipo.int/export/sites/www/tk/en/resources/pdf/overview_customary_law.pdf)
- Young, Julia G., ‘The Revolution is Afraid: Cristeros and Sinarquistas in Mexico and the United States, 1926–1950.’ (Berkley Forum) <<https://berkeleycenter.georgetown.edu/responses/the-revolution-is-afraid-cristeros-and-sinarquistas-in-mexico-and-the-united-states-1926-1950>>

### **Conference Presentations**

Stover, Philip R., *Betrayal at the Bosque de San Diego: The Mexican Army Attacks the Apache South of Casas Grandes –*

*May 25, 1882*, Conferencia del Desierto de Chihuahua, Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez (Salón de Actos, Municipio de Casas Grandes, 2022)

——— *Isolation and Integration: Apostles in the Mexican Colonies 1875-1912*, Mormon History Association Annual Conference (Salt Lake City, Utah, 2019)

Zenteno René, Former Undersecretary for Population, Migration, and Religious Affairs at Mexico's Secretary of

Interior, *From the Mexican Perspective*, "Beyond the U.S.-Mexico Border Buildup: Security, Migrants and

Immigration Reform", Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies (University of California, San Diego, La Jolla, CA, 2013)

### **Novels**

Estrada Muñoz, Antonio, *Rescoldo*, 6th edn (México: Jus, 2011)

Greene, Graham, *The Power and the Glory* (New York: Penguin Classics, 2015)